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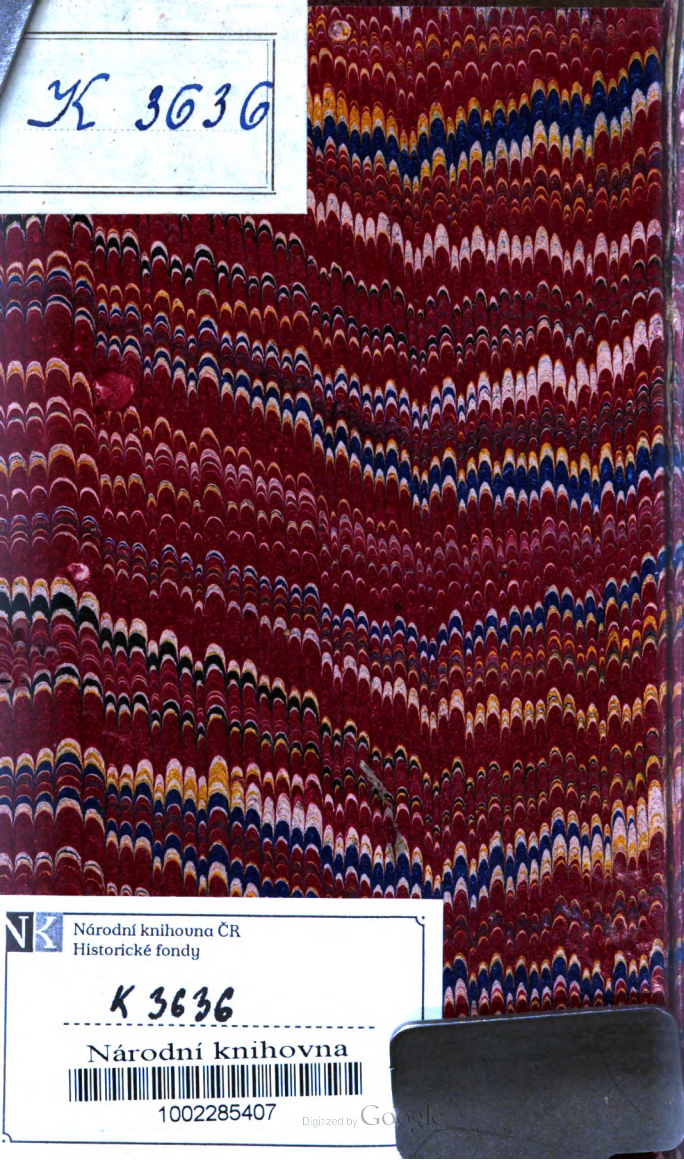

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THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION

In 1745 and 1746,

Extracted from the Scots Magazine:

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

An Account of the Trials of the Rebels; the Pretender and his Son's Declarations, &c.

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PREFACE

BY THE

PUBLISHERS.

AS there are very few who are not some how or other concerned in such intestine commotions as happen in their own time and country, histories of them have been always looked upon as very interesting; and when they are wrote with candor and impartiality they must be of great use to present and future times: as beacons and buoys in the ocean point out to mariners the rocks and sands on which others have been shipwrecked, these, by exposing the errors or mistakes of our fellow subjects with their fatal consequences, warn us against such courses as involved them in ruin, and teach us a due value for civil government.

THE great objection to histories of this kind, is, that they are generally either satire or panegyric. It must be owned that it is very difficult, and indeed scarce possible to do strict justice to both or to either side: a writer must take his account of facts from the parties concerned, who are commonly too warm to do one another justice, or perhaps from others who by their principles or connections have a strong bias to one side; and thus, were he heartily disposed to be impartial he lies under insuperable difficulties. But the inconsiderable mistakes of such a writer are easily distinguished from the party zeal so obvious in others.

WE should be sorry to be understood to mean, that any man ought to be a *non liquet* in the cause of liberty and his country; no, a man may be very zealous in both, and at the same time have candor enough to do justice to those who have either wickedly or ignorantly been disturbers of the publick peace: there is a zeal without knowledge or charity, and there is a zeal very consistent with both.

THE

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THE following history is extracted from the Scots Magazines published during the time, and in the months next following the conclusion of the rebellion; the candor and impartiality with which the publishers of that Magazine conducted themselves in that critical period, added greatly to the character of a work formerly esteemed and well received by the public; and no other collection contains such full and circumstantial accounts of the King's and Rebel armies, or of the disturbances occasioned in the country by the rebellion.

THE following Quotation from the Magazine for September 1745, page 444, shews how careful the collectors were in publishing any facts relating to the rebellion; after observing that the Scots affairs in the Magazine for that month were more interesting and of greater consequence than any that had happened since their Magazine began, they add "We have given as circumstantiate and just an account of them as we have been able to procure; but as, in such cases, it is extremely difficult not to give offence, we must intreat our candid readers to put as favourable a construction on our conduct, as they would desire to have put on their own in like circumstances. In a country so unhappily divided as we are, and at a time when mens passions are so inflamed as they always are in civil wars, it is not easy for a writer or collector to come at truth, or to find readers that wish to hear all the truth. This being our present situation, if any material fact or circumstance is misrepresented or omitted, we shall be singularly obliged to any person that will help us to rectify mistakes or supply defects. To conclude, from a review of the misery and distress into which a great part of the country was involved, and the hardships entailed upon several familes by the late rebellion, the fatal effects of civil broils will be very evident: peace and unanimity are among the greatest blessings men can enjoy; they make a nation happy in itself and formidable to its neighbours.

HISTORY

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HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION.

IN the year 1744, there were great apprehenſions of a French invaſion in favours of the Pretender; but all theſe reports blew over, or were diſappointed by the vigilance and activity of the government; nor did we hear more of ſuch deſigns till the month of July 1745, when ſeveral reports of the ſame nature prevailed: the firſt Circumſtantial account of the young Chevalier's motions, was the following article from Paris.

"*Paris, July* 19. The Pretender's eldeſt ſon put to ſea, July 14. from Belleiſle, in the Elizabeth of 60 guns, provided with a large quantity of warlike ſtores, together with a frigate of 30 guns, in order to land in Scotland; where it's ſaid he is to find 20,000 men and 40 tranſport-ſhips, *&c.* at his diſpoſal, to make good his pretenſions to the crown of Great Britain. He is to be joined by five ſhips of the line from Breſt, and 4500 Spaniards which are imbarking at Ferrol."

We had alſo the following account from the *Hague, July* 30. "Several foreign miniſters have an account, that a principal officer of the French navy had been ſeveral months raiſing, on pretence for the India ſervice, 100 men. They were called *Graſſins de Mer*, were cloathed in blue and faced with red, and imbarked at port Lazara in Britany, on July 14. on board a frigate of 18 guns, in which was the Pretender's eldeſt ſon, who came incog. from Normandy, and about 50 Scots and Iriſh. The frigate was joined off Belleiſle by the Elizabeth of 66 guns. They intended to go round Ireland,

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land, and land in Scotland; but were met on the 20th by some English merchant ships, convoyed by three ships of war; one of which, the Lion, bore down on the Elizabeth, and attacked her. Upon which the Pretender sailed away in the Frigate. The fight lasted nine hours; when, night coming on, the Elizabeth, quite disabled, got away to Brest; the Captain and 64 men killed, 136 dangerously wounded, and a greater number slightly. She had on board 400,000l. Sterling, and arms for several thousand men. The French court pretend to know nothing more of the affair, than that this person had sent a letter to complain of being neglected by them; but adding, that he would hazard his life in trying his father's faithful subjects, rather than retun to Rome as he left it."

In the London Gazette of the 17 of August was the following article; "Letters from Edinburgh, of the 11th instant, bring an account, that a French vessel of 16 or 18 guns had appeared on the West coast of Scotland; which, after having cruised for some days off the island of Bara and Uist, stood in for the coast of Lochaber; and had there landed, betwixt the islands of Mull and Sky, several persons; one of whom, from the general report, and from several concurring circumstances, there is the greatest reason to believe is the Pretender's son."

The King was then abroad visiting his German dominions, and had appointed a regency to administrate affairs in his absence, how soon the Lords Justices were satisfied of the truth of these reports they took all necessary precautions for the defence and security of the kingdom, and among others, published a proclamation offering a reward of 30,000l. to any person who should seize and secure the young Chevalier.

Subsequent advices made it clear that this adventurer was actually landed in company with two or three gentlemen at a place called Moidart, and that several highlanders had taken up arms in his cause. On the first notice of this, Lieutenant General Sir John Cope, commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, gave the ne-

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cessary

ceſſary orders to the troops; ſeveral parties, who were at work upon the roads were ordered forthwith to join their reſpective regiments; arms and ammunition were ſent to the troops and garriſons from the caſtle of Edinburgh; that fortreſs was ordered to be ſtored with proviſions, and the garriſon reinforced with two companies of Laſcelles's foot; a camp was formed at Stirling; all military perſons whatever in Scotland were required forthwith to repair to their reſpective poſts; and the out-penſioners of Chelſea hoſpital, to preſent themſelves before Lieutenant-General Gueſt at Ediuburgh; who, as they appeared, were ordered for Stirling, or joined to the garriſon of Edinburgh-caſtle.

Two new-levied companies of Sinclair's Royal Scots foot, quartered at Perth, received orders on the 10th of Auguſt to march to Fort William. Having paſſed Fort Auguſtus, they were attacked, on the 16th, by a party of highlanders, and made priſoners, after a ſtout reſiſtance; in which two men were killed, and Capt. Scot and ſeveral wounded. They were carried to the young Chevalier's quarters; and, 'tis ſaid, were civilly uſed. In a few days, the officer and ſome of the men, in all about fourteen, were liberate upon their parole. Captain Scot went to Fort William, to be cured; and Captain Thomſon, Lieutenants Roſe and Ferguſſon, and the men, came South.—Mean time Captain Campbell of Inveraw, with his company, one of the three additional companies of the old highland regiment, got ſafe into Fort-william, having gone the Weſt road.

On the 19th, General Cope, accompanied by the Earl of Louden, and a great many officers, ſet out from Edinburgh for Stirling, to put himſelf at the head of the army. Next day and the day following all the infantry, amounting to between 1500 and 2000, with proviſions, ſome field-pieces, coehorns, *&c.* croſſed the Forth by Stirling bridge, and marched by the way of Tay-bridge to Inverneſs; where they arrived on the 29th. The Duke of Athole, accompained by the Laird of Glengary, viſited the General, *&c.* when encamped at Crieff.

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It was expected that General Cope would have attacked the rebels. But having, as 'tis said, received accounts when at Dalwhinnie, the place where the Fort-Auguſtus and Inverneſs roads meet, that they were much ſuperior in number, and that they lay at an advantageous paſs, in expectation of his coming the Fort-Auguſtus road; his Excellency ſent a detachment that way, as a blind; but marched the main body, with the baggage, &c. the Inverneſs road; ordering the detachment to follow at an appoined time, This was effected with ſuch prudence and expedition, as to prevent the rebels intercepting him at another paſs on the Inverneſs road.

For a more particular account of General Cope's march to Inverneſs, and from that to Aberdeen, we ſhall here ſubjoin an extract from a letter of an officer in that expedition.

" Soon after the certain accounts reached us at Edinburgh, that the Pretender's ſon was landed at Moydart, and gathering people about him, there we were told, that, in obedience to orders from above, we were to hold ourſelves in readineſs for a march to the Chain, a name we give to the road leading from Inverneſs to Fort-William.

" As the country we were to march through, could not afford ſubſiſtence for the troops, it was abſolutely neceſſary to carry a ſtock of bread along with us. This the General cauſed to be provided at Leith, Stirling, and Perth. As ſoon as it was got ready, we ſet out from Stirling, where the troops aſſembled:

" It was well for us that we had a ſuttler well provided, and a butcher with a drove of black cattle, (which he killed for us from time to time), along with us; without this precaution, we had ſtarved upon the march.

" A march of regular troops, when the country was in its preſent ſituation, by themſelves, was thought hazardous: but we were told, that we were to be joined at Crieff with a body of the well affected highlanders; and we carried 1000 arms that length along with us, to put into their hands. But ſo it happened, that not a man of them

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them joined us, neither there nor any where elſe, till we came to Inverneſs.

" It ſeemed to me that the General, when we came to Crieff, found reaſon to believe he was not to expect to be joined by any of them; for he ſent back from thence, to Stirling caſtle, 700 of the arms. It was well he did ſo; for it would have been impoſſible to get them to Inverneſs for want of carriages.

" However we went forward chearfully by ourſelves, notwithſtanding the diſappointment; and I obſerve it to you once for all, that, notwithſtanding the many difficulties we met with in it, and the many forced marches we made, in order to paſs the rivers for fear of their ſwelling; yet ſuch was the heartineſs of the troops for the ſervice, that no body was heard to complain upon the whole march.

" At Dalwhinnie we were informed that the rebels were poſted on and in Coiryerg, a noted paſs, ſeventeen miles diſtant on our way to the Chain. The General thereupon called the commanding officers of the ſeveral corps, and laid before them the orders he had to march directly to the Chain, and his intelligence about the diſpoſition of the rebels; deſiring to have their opinion what was proper to be done.

" The intelligence was undoubted, that the enemy were to wait for us at Coiryerg; where their different parties, from the head of Loch Lochy, and Lugganauchnadrum, might eaſily join them. X intended to line the traverſes or winding of the road, up the mountain, which are ſeventeen in number. In theſe traverſes their men would be intrenched to their teeth. They are flanked by a hollow water-courſe, which falls from the top of the mountain; they intended to line this water-courſe, where their men would be well covered, as likewiſe numbers of them might be among the rocks, on the top of the hill. They propoſed to break down the bridge at Snugburrow, which lifts the roads over a ſteep precipice, and to place men in two hollow ways, which flank the road both ways. Formerly ſeveral of theſe officers had marched over that ground, and all of them unanimouſly

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mouſly agreed, that to force the rebels in it was utterly impracticable; it muſt inevitably be attended with the loſs of all our proviſions, artillery, and military ſtores, &c. and indeed of the troops; that the giving the rebels any ſucceſs upon their firſt ſetting out, was by all means to be prevented, as what might be attended with bad conſequences to the ſervice.

"The next queſtion then was, Whether it was moſt adviſable to return to Stirling with all expedition, or march to Ruthven, and ſo on to Inverneſs? Upon this they were alſo unanimous in their opinion that to return to Stirling was by no means adviſable. The rebels could march to Stirling a nearer way than we could, by marching down the ſide of Loch-Rannoch. They would get to the bridge of Kynachin before us; they'd break it down, and thereby cut off our retreat. This is a bridge upon Tumble, a water ſo rapid that it is not fordable in any place that I could hear of. To ſtay where we were, and thereby pretend to ſtop their progreſs Southward, was folly: they could, without coming over Coiryerg, go South, by roads over the mountains, practicable for them, utterly impracticable for regular troops. And, upon taking a ſurvey of our proviſions, we found, that, what from our having been under a neceſſity to leave a great deal of it by the way upon the march, for want of horſes to bring it along, (which we found it impoſſible to get), and what from the great damage which that part of it which we did bring forward, had received from the rains, we had not above two days bread left that could be ate, and we were unhappily in a country that could not ſupply us. There was therefore no manner of choice left us—to Inverneſs we muſt go—which we did accordingly.

"We made no longer ſtay there than was abſolutely neceſſary for our preparing for our march to Aberdeen. The night before we left Inverneſs, we were joined by 200 of the Monroes, under the command of Captain George Monro of Culcairn, who went along with us to Aberdeen, and were the only highlanders, not of the regular troops, who joined us in this expedition.

Our

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"Our march to Aberdeen was no leſs expeditious than our former; from Creiff to Inverneſs, and from thence to Aberdeen, the General did not allow us to reſt one day. Upon our arrival there, we found he had taken care to have tranſports ready, and every thing in order for carrying us to Leith by ſea. We came to Dunbar on Monday the 16th of September, and all the troops were landed there on the 17th, and the artillery, *&c.* on the 18th, as the firſt and neareſt place we could land at on the South ſide of the frith."

As their was nothing now to oppoſe the highlanders, their main body, ſaid not to exceed 2500, with the young Chevalier at their head, accompanied by the late Marquis of Tullibardine, *&c.* reached the braes of Athol on the 30th, and next day came to Blair. On this, the Duke of Athol, and ſeveral Perthſhire and Fife Gentlemen removed to Edinburgh. 'Tis ſaid the Chevalier's party had, by means of their frigate, ſeized three veſſels on the Weſt coaſt; one of them the Princeſs Mary of Renfrew, laden with meal.

All this while, the magiſtrates and inhabitants of Edinburgh were very attentive to what paſſed. About the 9th of Auguſt proper orders were given to the officers of the trained bands, conſtables, *&c.* A little after, the city-guard was augmented with 30 men; and all ſtablers, innkeepers, *&c.* were required to give the Captain of the guard an account of all ſtrangers, immediately on their coming to lodge with them, on pain of 5 l. for every offence. On the 26th, and ſome days after, ſtrict ſearch was made thro' the printing houſes, but without making any diſcovery, for ſome treaſonable papers, ſaid to be intitled, *A declaration, A commiſſion of regency, A manifeſto, &c.* copies of which had been dropt at Perth, incloſed in blank covers addreſſed to the Sheriff-depute, Provoſt, *&c.*

Nor were the miniſters of ſtate leſs vigilant. Beſides thoſe formerly taken up, Alexander Fraſer, ſometime ſervant to John Drummond, a Captain in the French ſervice, juſt come over from Holland, was committed to Edinburgh jail on the 11th of Auguſt; John Macleod, alſo

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alſo from Holland, on the 13th; and James Rollo of Powhouſe, to Edinburgh caſtle, on the 23d; all by warrant of the Lord Advocate, on ſuſpicion of treaſon.

When theſe commotions began, the Duke of Argyle, who was one of the Lords Juſtices, was in the Weſt of Scotland. His Grace came to Edinburgh on the 16th of Auguſt, and ſet out for London on the 21ſt.

General Blakeney, who came Poſt from London arrived at Edinburgh on the 27th, and proceeded to Stirling. Gardiner's dragoons lay at that town, and Hamilton's in Canongate and Leith.

A detachment of the highlanders entered Perth on the 3d of September. Next day at noon ſome papers were read over the croſs, ſuppoſed to be thoſe above mentioned. In the afternoon the young Chevalier entered that town, where the main body ſoon rendezvouſed, having ſet up a ſtandard, with the motto TANDEM TRIUMPHANS. On the 7th, a detachment entered Dundee; where they read the papers formerly read at Perth, ſearched the town for horſes, arms and ammunition, and levied the publick money, giving receipts. Next day, however, the Miniſters of the eſtabliſhed church preached as uſual, prayed for King George, and warmly exhorted their hearers to be ſtedfaſt in their loyalty, all without moleſtation, tho' ſome of the highlanders were preſent. The ſhip of William Graham of Perth was ſeized by them at Dundee, and carried up to Perth ſuppoſed to have ſome gun-powder on board. Parties of them were ſaid to have viſited ſome towns in Fife The main body was at Perth on the 9th; whence the magiſtrates had retired to Edinburgh before, or ſoon after their arrival. Travellers got paſſes, which run in theſe terms, *Charles Prince of Wales, &c. Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and of the dominions thereunto belonging*, which were ſubſcribed by a Secretary, and had a Royal ſeal.

Accounts of the rebels having entered Athol came to Edinburgh on the 31ſt of Auguſt in the evening. At ſix the drum beat to arms, and Hamilton's dragoons incamped that night in St. Ann's yards. The town-coun-

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cil

cil likewiſe met, and ordained the keys of the gates to be lodged with the Captain of the guard, centries to be placed at each, and a ſecond augmentation of the city-guard to be made. Next night and for ſome time after, a company of trained bands mounted the guard. Arms were ſent from the city magazine to Leith, to arm the inhabitants. The city-walls were ordered to be repaired, cannon to be placed on them, and a ditch to be thrown up, from the North-ſide of the caſtle to the North-loch. To haſten theſe fortifications, the workmen were buſied even on Sunday the 8th; a thing very uncommon in this country (thank God). That day, the latter part of 6000 ſtand of arms, from London, were carried to the caſtle from Leith. A great many of the principal inhabitants having offered to defend the city at the hazard of their Lives, together with the regular trained bands, under the command of the Lord Provoſt, his Majeſty's Lord Lieutenant, his Lordſhip, by the advice of the crown-lawyers, accepted their offer; and, upon a proper application, a Royal ſign-manual, dated Sept. 4th came to town, authoriſing the Lord Povoſt, and magiſtrates and council to raiſe, form, diſcipline and maintain at their own proper charge, by voluntary ſubſcription of the inhabitants, 1000 foot, for the defence of the city, and ſupport of his Majeſty's government. A ſubſcription was accordingly opened on the 9th of September. In two hours, money for maintaining 600 men was ſubſcribed for, and a month's pay advanced. The ſame day a ſubſcription for voluntiers was opened, to which a great number of the inhabitants crowded to ſign. Both ſubſcriptions, and the inliſting of the men for the Edinburgh regiment, went on ſucceſsfully. The voluntiers had arms and ammunition out of his Majeſty's magazine, and were daily exerciſed. Some Miniſters liſted among them. Glaſgow, Aberdeen, and the other noted towns, were likeways taking proper meaſures for their own ſecurity.

Hamilton's dragoons moved their camp from St. Anne's yards to Beardſor's park, to the North of the caſtle,

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caſtle, on the 4th, from thence to Leith links on the 6th. All the veſſels on the Forth lay on the South ſide. Faſts were obſerved on account of theſe commotions; that by appointment of the Preſbytery of Edinburgh was on the 5th. Three Epiſcopal Miniſters and two Gentlemen were apprehended at Stirling on the 7th, and committed, on ſuſpicion of their intending to join the rebels.

About the beginning of September, a Royal ſign-manual came down, for raiſing twenty independant companies in Scotland, under the direction of the Lord Preſident of the ſeſſion.

The highland army, were at Perth on the 9th of September. Thence they marched on the 11th, and on the 13th croſſed the Forth, a few miles above Stirling. On their approach, Gardiner's dragoons retired to Falkirk.

When this news reached Edinburgh the magiſtrates, *&c.* immediately aſſembled, the trained bands mounted guard in the parliament-houſe, the voluntiers in the exchequer, and the Edinburgh regiment in the juſticiary-hall.—The trained bands conſiſted of ſixteen companies, different in number, ſome 60 and ſome 100 men; but at that time they were fewer, as ſeveral of them had joined the Gentlemen voluntiers. Of theſe there were ſix companies, in number about 400, commanded by Captain Provoſt George Drummond, one of the Commiſſioners of Exciſe; Provoſt Archibald Macaulay, Conſervator of the Scots privileges at Campvere; Dean of Gild James Nimmo, Receiver General of the Exciſe duties; James Ker Jewler, Ingraver in the Mint; Baillie Alexander Blackwood, Merchant in Edinburgh; and Sir George Preſton of Valleyfield. Beſides theſe, there were above 200 Seceders voluntiers, commanded by Mr. Bruce of Kennet. They were divided into three companies, under Captain John Moubray Wigmaker, William Beveridge and Richard Jerment Shipmaſters. Upwards of 200 men were raiſed for the Edinburgh regiment but none of the officers were appointed, except Allan

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Allan Burn Adjutant. The city guard are about 120 trained men, and have three Captains. The trained bands had the city's arms and ammunition; and the volunteers and Edinburgh regiment got arms and ammunition out of the King's magazine in the caſtle.

Next day, the 14th, the banks, publick offices, and the moſt valuable effects of ſome private perſons, were removed to the caſtle.

On the 14th and 15th, the workmen were buſied in completing the ſcaffolding upon the ramparts, erecting paliſadoes and barricades at the gates, and planting cannon on the baſtions and other proper places.

Certain notice was received on the 15th in the morning that the van of the highland army was arrived at Linlithgow; and it was reported, that detachments of them were come to Kirkliſton, Wainſburgh, and Gogar, about five or ſix miles Weſt of the city. Gardiner's dragoons retired as they advanced, and drew up at Corſtorphin, two miles Weſt of the city.

On receiving this news, 'tis ſaid that two Captains of the volunteers propoſed to General Gueſt, who had the chief command in the abſence of General Cope, that 250 of the volunteers ſhould march out, and join the dragoons. The General thanked them, and ſent to aſk 50 of the city guard likewiſe. The Lord Provoſt at firſt thought it abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety of the place, that all the city-guard ſhould be kept within the town; but upon a Gentleman's obſerving, that if, by complying with the General's requeſt, the enemy's progreſs ſhould be ſtopped, the city would thereby be effectually preſerved, his Lordſhip, inſtead of 50, ordered the whole city guard, and all the men inliſted for the Edinburgh regiment that were not on guard in the town, to march out, and receive orders from the commanders of the King's troops. Hereupon General Gueſt ordered Hamilton's dragoons to decamp from Leith links, and to join Gardiner's at Corſtorphin. At eleven o'clock the fire-bell rung, as the ſignal for the volunteers to arm. About twelve Hamilton's dragoons marched through the city, and proceeded to Corſtorphin. A little after, the whole

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whole city guard, headed by four Captains, together with the detachment of the Edinburgh regiment, marched out, and halted on the East-side of the Colt-bridge, in expectation of being joined by the body of voluntiers. By this time there was a demur among the voluntiers. As they had engaged to defend the town, they thought they should not march out of it. One or two companies of them however, marched to the West-port; but proceeded no farther. Then the Lord Provost sent orders to the city guard, &c to march forward and join the dragoons; which they immediately did, and continued under arms till night. At nine o'clock the dragoons retired to the East-side of the Colt bridge, a mile West of Edinburgh, and lay upon their arms all night. The city guard, &c. came into the town. All the voluntiers, a great part of the trained bands, and those of the Edinburgh regiment that had not marched to Corstorphin, continued under arms all day within the town; and at night, after placing the proper guards consisting of about 700 men, the rest received orders not to strip, but to be ready to appear at their respective alarm-posts whenever they should hear the fire-bell. Two small bodies of men from about Dalkeith and Musselburgh came in by order of the Duke of Buccleugh's doers and Sir Robert Dickson of Carberry, to assist in defending the city, and got arms and ammunition delivered them.

Next morning, the city-guard and the detachment of the Edinburgh regiment marched out again, and joined the dragoons. Mean time the highland army continued their march toward Edinburgh. On their approach, a party of dragoons posted near Corstorphin, retired to the main body at Colt-bridge. Which post they all quitted about three o'clock afternoon. The city soldiers came into the town; and the dragoons rode off by the North-side of the city towards Leith, then took the road to Musselburgh, and thence to Haddington. Their baggage and tents were left behind, and carried into the castle.

This precipitant flight occasioned a general consternation in the city. There was certain notice got, that General

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General Cope, with the troops under his command, were to have imbarked at Aberdeen about the 14th or 15th; and the news of their landing in Lothain was hourly expected. But, as no accounts of them was come, as the regular forces had fled, and as all the miniſters of ſtate had withdrawn from the impending danger, a great many of the inhabitants thought it high time to conſult the ſafety of the city likewiſe. Accordingly a petition, ſigned by ſeveral citizens of great property, was preſented to the magiſtrates and council, then aſſembled in the goldſmiths hall, craving that a meeting of the inhabitants ſhould be inſtantly called, in order to determine what was proper to be done. The Lord Provoſt ſeemed not to reliſh this petition. He ſaid, That as all the inhabitants were well armed, as ſome people from the country had likewiſe come to their aſſiſtance, and as great expences had been laid out in fortifying the city, there was no doubt but they ought to ſtand to their defence; and that he himſelf ſhould firſt mount the ramparts. To this the petitioners anſwered, That a great many of the trained bands were of opinion that the city was not tenible; that the ſudden flight of the regular forces made it evident they were of the ſame opinion; and that, if ſtanding out for an hour or two, which was all that could be done, would bring the lives and properties of the inhabitants into certain hazard, without doing any real ſervice to the cauſe intended to be ſerved, it was certainly more eligible to capitulate upon the beſt terms that could be got. On this the Lord Provoſt, ſeeing a Gentleman who is poſſeſſed of a conſiderable place under the government, and was formerly in the army, aſked his advice. The Gentleman, after commiſerating his Lordſhip's ſituation, in being at the head of a city ſo much divided in their ſentiments about their own ſtrength gave it as his opinion, that, if all the inhabitants were of one mind, the city might perhaps hold out for a ſhort time; but, as he found them divided, care ſhould be taken that the King's arms ſhould not fall into the hands of the enemy. His Lordſhip,

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after a great deal of reaſoning, agreed to call a meeting of the inhabitants, as deſired by the petition.

Hereupon all concerned were invited to attend in the New-church iſle. The fire-bell rung a long time; and ſeveral perſons went up and down the ſtreets, telling every body of the deſign of the meeting. When the Lord Provoſt, magiſtrates, and a great number of the inhabitants, were aſſembled, his Lordſhip told them, That the magiſtrates had called them together for their advice; that the city had been put to very great expence in preparing for a defence; that, for his own part, he had not got a military education, and was altogether unſkilled in theſe matters; that therefore he intreated his fellow-citizens to adviſe what ſhould be done in the preſent exigency, and he would chearfully do what ſhould be agreed upon by them. The point in debate was, Whether or not the town ſhould ſtand out? Mention having been made, in the courſe of the reaſoning, of the aſſiſtance to be expected from the dragoons, the Lord Provoſt told, that he had been preſent at a council of war the night before, in which it was the opinion of all the officers, that the bringing the dragoons into the town, would be cooping them up to their deſtruction. In a little time, the Secretary at war came with a meſſage from General Gueſt. It would appear, that a warrant had been ſent to the General a few hours before, ſigned by the Lord Provoſt and the Lord Advocate, *impowering* him, if he thought proper, to ſend in 100 dragoons, to aſſiſt in the defence of the city. His Excellency now wanted to know, whether the Lord Provoſt *deſired* that the 100 dragoons, or a greater number, and what number, ſhould enter the town. When the opinion of the meeting was aſked, they anſwered, *No dragoons*. The Lord Provoſt then deſired the Secretary to tell the General, that, after what had paſſed in the council of war, it was to be feared, if he ſhould *call in* the dragoons, and any ill conſequences follow, it might be ſaid that he had drawn them into a ſnare; that therefore he could not deſire them: but, if the General thought proper to order the whole or any number in, the gates ſhould

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ſhould be open for their reception. No dragoons, however, came. The queſtion was then put Whether the town ſhould be defended? and only three or four ſaid *Yes.* Upon this it was agreed to capitulate on the beſt terms that could be got, and that in the mean time the King's arms ſhould be returned to the caſtle. When they were about to name deputies for treating with the highland army, a letter was handed in, addreſſed to the Lord Provoſt and magiſtrates; which was ordered to be read. It began to this purpoſe. *Whereas we are now ready to enter the beloved metropolis of our ancient kingdom of Scotland*——Here the reader was ſtopped, and aſked by whom the letter was ſigned. Upon his telling, that is was ſuperſcribed, *Charles Prince of Wales*, &c.——the Lord Provoſt would not hear it read; ſo the meeting broke up, The magiſtrates and council returned to the goldſmiths hall, and ſent off the deputies. Mean time the voluntiers marched up to the caſtle, and returned their arms; which great numbers of them ſeemed to do with reluctance. The Edinburgh regiment returned theirs likewiſe; and a party of the trained bands and city-company kept guard all night.

About an hour after the deputies had gone out of town, a Gentleman aſſured the council, that General Cope with the troops were landed at Dunbar, twenty miles Eaſt of the city. It appeared that this news was premature. The magiſtrates, *&c.* regretted that the intelligence had not come an hour ſooner; and the Lord Provoſt and ſome others renewed their thoughts of making a defence. A Gentleman was immediately diſpatched, to call back the deputies. But he did not come up with them. According to their inſtructions, they waited of the chiefs of the highland army at Gray's-mill, about two miles South-weſt of Edinburgh, and propoſed terms. The chiefs anſwered, That the declaration and manifeſto emitted by their King and Prince contained the only terms any city or perſon were to expect; and deſired to know the magiſtrates reſolution againſt two o'clock next morning. In order to protract time, deputies were again ſent, to aſk a few hours to

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conſider of the terms propoſed. But this was refuſed. A detachment of 900 highlanders thereupon got orders, and marched before day, undiſcovered, cloſe to the Netherbow. They brought ſome barrels of powder along with them, in order to have blown up the gate. But a little after their arrival, a coach happening to come down the town, the centinels, tho' they had orders not to let the gate be opened, permitted the porter to let out the coach, ſuſpecting no ill conſequences. So ſoon as the gate opened, the highlanders ruſhed in, took poſſeſſion of the gate, then of the main guard, making the ſoldiers on duty priſoners, and forthwith placed guards at all the gates, and at the weigh-houſe, *&c.* This ſurprized the magiſtrates and council, and put an end to their deliberations.

Immediately after the detachment entered the Netherbow, the caſtle hung out a flag, which continued long diſplayed, fired ſome guns as a ſignal, and required the inhabitants not to appear on the caſtle-hill.

About noon the main body of the army came into the King's park, by the way of Duddingſton, having made a pretty large circuit, to avoid being within reach of the caſtle guns. The young Chevalier, in highland dreſs, with ſome of the chiefs, went into the Royal palace of Holyrood-houſe, and the troops lay in the park. Vaſt numbers of people of all perſuaſions crowded to ſee the Chevalier.

The detachment that entered the city in the morning, had ſecured the heralds, purſevants, *&c.* and, betwixt twelve and one o'clock at noon, they were carried to the croſs in their formalities, and there cauſed read, with ſound of trumpet, a declaration and commiſſion of regency, both ſuperſcribed *James R.* ſubſcribed *J. R.* and dated at Rome. December 23. 1743. and a manifeſto, ſuperſcribed *Charles P. R.* ſubſcribed *C. P. R.* and dated at Paris, May 16. 1745.

In ſaid declaration and manifeſto, a general pardon was granted for all treaſons, *&c.* committed before the publication of them, and ample promiſes made to ſecure all Proteſtant ſubjects in the free exerciſe of their religi-

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on, and in the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges.

None of the magistrates appeared in their proper habits, after this: some of them and of the other inhabitants went out of town; as several of the voluntiers had done the night before, after giving up their arms.

Soon after the highland army came into the town, a journal was published by authority, in substance as follows; "The Prince being informed that Lieuteuant-General Cope was to march over Coiryerg on the 27th of August, ordered his whole army to decamp, and at four o'clock in the morning marched from Aberchallader in Glengary over the hill of Coiryerg, with a resolution to fight. But General Cope, having got notice of our strength the day before, was so intimidated, that he altered his route from Coiryerg to Ruthven in Badenoch, and made such dispatch, to prevent our attacking his rear, that in two days he performed a four days march. At night when we arrived at Garvamore, our men were so vexed at General Cope's having escaped, that 500 of them proposed to follow him, and march twenty four miles under night in order to intercept him; but, upon mature consideration, the proposal was not thought practicable. On the 28th, we marched to Dalwhinie, the 29th to Dalnacardich, 30th to Blair, 2d of September to Dunkeld, 3d to Perth, where we quartered till the 11th. That day we marced to Dumblain, rested the 12th and on the 13th crossed the Forth at a ford under Balquhan. We expected to be opposed by Gardiner's dragoons, who we heard threatned to cut us to pieces if we durst attempt to cross the Forth: but as soon as they heard of our having crossed, they galloped away to Falkirk. On the 14th, we marched from Touch to Falkirk, the town of Stirling having opened its gates to receive us. Hearing that Gardiner's dragoons lay at Linlithgow, about six miles distant, the Prince ordered a detachment of 500 men to attack them that night in their Camp. But Colonel Gardiner marched off in a hurry at seven o'clock at night, and incamped at Kirkliston, six miles further East. The 15th, we incamped three

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three miles to the East of Linlithgow; and on the 16th marched towards Corstorphin; where we recived intelligence, that Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons had joined, and were ready to receive us. But their piquet guards, seeing our number, and the regularity of our march, took to their heels, and the whole dragoons fled precipitantly that evening to Musselburgh. We incamped on the 16th at Gray's-mill; where deputies from the city of Edinburgh came, to demand time for drawing up a capitulation. The Answer given them was, That the King's declaration and the Prince's manifesto contained such terms as every subject ought to accept with joy, and that they had no other to expect. To consider of this they were allowed four hours, and required to return a positive answer by two o'clock next morning. But, no such answer coming, and a further delay being asked, the Prince refused to treat any longer; and immediately gave proper orders to a detachment of 900 men; who marched under night, and early in the morning rushed in at the Nether-bow gate, and took possession of the town. The Prince marched his army the 17th to Holyrood-house, and incamped in the King's Park."

The highland army seized all the cannon arms and ammunition belonging to the city, and issued a proclamation, dated September 18. requiring all persons in Mid-Lothain, forthwith to deliver up, at the palace of Holyrood-house, all the arms and ammunition they had in their custody, on pain of being treated as rebels.

On the 19th, a message was sent to the city of Edinburgh, superscribed *Charles P. R.* and subscribed *C. P. R.* requiring, on pain of military execution, that 1000 tents, 2000 targets, 6000 pairs of shoes, and a proportional number of water cantines, should be furnished to the army against the 23d; and promising payment so soon as the present troubles should be over. A meeting of the inhabitants was thereupon called, and the tents, *&c.* ordered to be got ready. They were accordingly furnished, and 2s. 6d. laid on each pound of real rent within the city, Canongate, and Leith, for defraying

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fraying the charge. About the ſame time ſome printers were compelled to print ſeveral papers for them.

The friends of the government, however expected, that a ſtop would ſoon be put to the progreſs of the highland army. Brigadier Fowkes, who had arrived at Edinburgh from London on the 15th, marched next day with the dragoons Eaſtward. General Cope, with the tranſports, arrived off Dunbar the ſame day. Next day the troops were landed there; and the artillery, *&c.* on the 18th. The army marched from Dunbar towards Edinburgh on the 19th, and was joined by the two regiments of dragoons. The higland army, who lay incamped at Duddingſton, a mile Eaſt of Edinburgh, marched off on the 20th in the morning to meet General Cope, without leaving any men in Edinburgh. That night the two armies came in ſight of each other, and next morning came to an action, a little to the North of Tranent, to the Eaſt of Preſton, and to the Weſt of Seton, about ſeven miles Eaſt from Edinburgh. The account publiſhed by authority at London is as follows.

Sept. 24. By an expreſs which arrived this morning we are informed, that Sir John Cope, and the troops under his command, were attacked by the rebels on the 21ſt inſtant, at day-break, at Preſton, near Seton, ſeven miles from Edinburgh; that the King's troops were defeated, and Sir John Cope, with about 450 dragoons, had retired to Lauder; Brigadier Fowkes and Colonel Laſcelles had got to Dunbar; but as yet we have no accounts of the particulars of this action, nor of the loſs on either ſide. The Earls of Louden and Home, and ſome of the Gentlemen voluntiers, were at Lauder with Sir John Cope.

For a more particular detail of this action, we ſhall ſubjoin an extract from the officer's letter already quoted.

"We marched from Dunbar on the 19th towards Edinburgh. We incamped that night upon the field Weſt-ward of Haddington, and ſet out from thence early the next morning.

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" On this day's march we had frequent intelligence brought, that the rebels were advancing towards us with their whole body, with a quick pace. We could not therefore get to the ground it was intended we ſhould, having ſtill ſome miles to march through a country, ſome part of which was interlined with walls. The General therefore thought it proper to chuſe the firſt open ground he found; and a better ſpot could not have been choſen for the cavalry to be at liberty to act in. We got out the defiles in our way and came to the ground juſt in time before the enemy got up to us.

" We had no ſooner completetd our diſpoſition, and got our little army formed in excellent order, than the rebels appeared upon the high ground South of us. We then formed a full front to theirs, prepared either to wait their coming to us, or to take the firſt advantage for attacking them. During this interval we exchanged ſeveral hazzas with them, and probably from their not liking our diſpoſition, they began to alter their own. They made a large detachment to their left towards Preſton, (as we imagined) in order to take us in the flank, their number being vaſtly ſuperior to ours.

" Our General having upon this, with ſeveral of the officers, reconnoitred their deſign, immediately cauſed us to change our front; forming us with our right to the ſea, and our left where the front had been. This diſpoſition diſappointed their project of taking us in flank, and that part of their army immediately countermarched back again.

" From this change of theirs, we were again obliged to take new ground; which our people conſtantly performed with great alacrity and regular exactneſs, and in all outward appearance with a chearful countenance, and eager deſires to engage.

" The night coming on, the enemy ſo near, we could only content ourſelves, with a ſmall train of ſix gallopers, to throw a few ſhot among an advanced party of theirs who had taken poſſeſſion of the church-yard of Tranent, that lay between their front and ours.

" Till

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" Till about three in the morning, of a very dark night, our patroles could ſcarce perceive any motion they made, every thing ſeemed ſo quiet: but about this hour, the patroles reported them to be in full march with great ſilence, towards the Eaſt: at four they reported, that they were continuing their march North Eaſt. From this it appeared, they deſigned to attack our left flank with their main body; and upon the General's being confirmed that this was their intention, he made a diſpoſition in leſs time than one would think it poſſible, by which he brought our front to theirs, and ſecured our flanks by ſeveral dikes on our right, towards Tranent, with our left flank inclining to the Sea.

" The moment this diſpoſition was completed, three large bodies in columns, of their picked-out highlanders, came in apace though in a collected body, with great ſwiftneſs. And the column, which was advancing towards our right, where our train was poſted, after receiving the diſcharge of a few pieces, almoſt in an inſtant, and before day broke, ſeized the train, and threw into the utmoſt confuſion a body of about 100 foot of ours, which was poſted there to guard it.

" All remedies, in every ſhape, were tried by the General, Brigadier Fowke, the Earls of Louden and Home, and the officers about them, to remedy this diſorder; but in vain. This, unhappily, with the fire made (tho' a very irregular one) by the highland column on our right, ſtruck ſuch a pannick into the dragoons, that in a moment they fled, and left Gardiner their Colonel, (who was heard to call upon them to ſtand), to receive the wounds that left him on the field. His Lieutenant Colonel, Whitney, while within his horſe's length of them, coming up with his ſquadron to attack them, received a ſhot which ſhattered his arm, and was left by his ſquadron too. And from this example, the whole body became poſſeſſed with the ſame fatal dread; ſo that it became utterly impoſſible for the General, or any one of the beſt intentioned of his officers, either to put an end to their fears, or ſtop their flight; tho' he and they did all that was in the power of men to do, and in

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doing it expoſed themſelves in ſuch a manner to the fire of the rebels, that I cannot account for their eſcaping it any other way, but that all of it was aimed at the run-away dragoons; who in ſpite of all endeavours to ſtop them, ran away from the field, through the town of Preſton; Gardiner's by the defile which paſſes by his houſe, which was in our rear on the right; and Hamilton's by one on our left, North of the houſe of Preſton.

"At the Weſt end of the town of Preſton, the General, with the Earls of Louden and Home, ſtopped, and endeavoured by all poſſible means to form and bring them back to charge the enemy, now in diſorder on the purſuit; but to no purpoſe. Upon which he put himſelf at their head, and made a retreat leiſurely, towards the road leading South from Edinburgh to Ginglekirk, and thereby kept a body of about 450 of them together, and carried them into Berwick next day.

"Brigadier Fowke, ſeeing things in this extremity with the dragoons, and hearing ſeveral diſcharges in his rear, galloped towards it, believing that it came from a body of our foot, who might be ſtill maintaining their ground, hoping by them to retrieve the fortune of the day. He was miſtaken; it was the rebels: the ſmoke of their fire, and the little day light prevented his diſcovering who they were, till he was cloſe upon the right flank of their main body; and he muſt have fallen into their hands, if Captain Wedderburn, a foot officer of ours, had not called out aloud to him to apprize him of his danger.

"I am told that Colonel Laſcelles behaved very gallantly. Being deſerted by his men, he fell into the enemy's hands upon the field; but, in the hurry they were in, he found means to make his eſcape Eaſtward, and got ſafe to Berwick.

I do not mention the behaviour of the officers. I ſaw a good many of them exerting themſelves to rally the dragoons, before they entered the defiles, thro' which they fled from the field. In general, I have not heard one ſingle ſuggeſtion againſt any one man, who had the honour to carry the King's commiſſion, either in the

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dragoons

dragoons or foot, as if he had not done his duty. Neither officers nor General can diveſt men of dread and panick when it ſeizes them; he only can do that who makes the heart of man. To their being ſtruck with a moſt unreaſonable panick, and to no one thing elſe, the diſgraceful event was owing. The ground was to our wiſh, the diſpoſition was unexceptionable, and we were fully formed.

"I know you will expect that I ſhould inform you what were the numbers on both ſides in the action.—— Of our ſide, I am convinced we were not above 1500 men who ſhould have fought. As to them it was ſo dark when they came to attack us, that I could only perceive them like a black hedge moving towards us. Some people magnify their numbers, others endeavour to leſſen them; but, by the beſt accounts, and the moſt to be depended upon, (which I have been able to get), they were not leſs than 5000 men."

The account of this affair publiſhed by the highland army is as follows:

"On Fridady, the 20th of September, in the morning, the Prince put himſelf at the head of the army at Duddingſton, and preſenting his ſword, ſaid, *My friends, I have flung away the ſcabbard.* This was anſwered with a chearful huzza. The army marched, and drew up on Carberry hill; where we learned that General Cope had fallen down into the low country, Eaſt of Preſtonpans. This directed our march along the brow of the hill, till we deſcried the enemy; upon which the highlanders gave a ſhout by way of defiance, expreſſing ſuch eagerneſs to run down upon them, that nothing leſs than authority could reſtrain them from coming to action directly.

"Some Gentlemen went out to obſerve their camp and reconnitre the ground, while the army advanced, till it came oppoſite to and at half a mile's diſtance from the enemy. Theſe Gentlemen returning, informed, that they had got into a faſtneſs, which having a very broad and deep ditch in front, the town of Preſton on the right, ſome houſes and a ſmall moraſs on the left, and

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and the frith of Forth on the rear. This made it impracticable to attack them in front, but at the greateſt riſk.

" That evening Mr. Cope diſcharged ſeveral cannon at us. A Gentleman who had ſeen their army that day, adviſed us, That they were above 4000 ſtrong, beſides voluntiers, Seceders, *&c.* from Edinburgh, and ſeveral Gentlemen at the head of their tenants; that General Hamilton's dragoons ſtood on the right, Colonel Gardiner's on the left; that the regiments of Laſcelles and Murray, 5 companies of Lee's, 4 of Guiſe's, 3 of the Earl of Louden's, and a number of recruits for regiments abroad and at home, formed the centre; and that they were all in top ſpirits.

" Both armies lay upon their arms all night. Mr. Cope's threw off ſeveral coe-horns, to let us underſtand they were alert, and had large fires at ſeveral places round their camp. Our men continued very ſilent; not one word was heard,

" About three in the morning of Saturday the 21ſt, we got off the ground, and marched Eaſtward; then turning North, formed a line in order to prevent the enemy's retreat through the Eaſt country, while another body of men were poſted to provide againſt their ſtealing a march upon us toward Edinburgh.

" The diſpoſition of the attack being made, the Prince addreſſed his army in theſe words: *Follow me Gentlemen; by the aſſiſtance of God I will this day make you a free and happy people.* We marched chearfully on, and engaged the enemy. The right wing was led on by the Duke of Perth, Lieutenant-General; and conſiſted of the regiments of Clanronald, Keppoch, Glengary and Glenco: the left by Lord George Murray, Lieutenant-General; conſiſting of the battalions of Camerons, commanded by Lochiel; the Stuarts of Appin, by Ardſhiell; one body of the Macgregors, with Glencairneg; and the reſt of the Macgregors with the Duke of Perth's men, under Major James Drummond. The enemy's artillery plaid furiouſly upon our left, eſpecially on Lochiel's battallions; yet only one private man was killed,

and

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and a Gentleman wounded: their cannon alſo raked our right wing, but did no great execution. As ſoon as the ſignal for beginning the attack was given, the highlanders pulled off their bonnets, looked up to heaven, made a ſhort prayer, and ran forward. The fire of the enemy's cannon was followed by a very regular fire of the dragoons on their right and left, and this again by cloſe platoons of their infantry; which our men received with the greateſt intrepidity: nor did we return the enemy's fire till we approached them ſo near as that the colſin of our ſhot might ſet their whiſkers on fire. The highlanders, having diſcharged their muſkets threw them down, then drew their ſwords, and carried all before them like a torrent; ſo that, in ſeven or eight minutes, both horſe and foot were totally routed and drove from the field of battle; tho' it muſt be owned that the enemy fought very gallantly: but they could not withſtand the impetuoſity, or rather fury of the highlanders, and were forced to *run* when they could no longer *reſiſt*.

" Some dragoons formed ſoon after on a neighbouring eminence; but obſerving our men marching to attack them, fled to Dalkeith, others took ſhelter in the neighbouring villages, others again got to Leith; Major Cawfield rode up to the caſtle of Edinburgh, and was followed by a few dragoons.

" As the ſecond line, which was commanded by the Lord Nairn, and conſiſted of the Athol men, Strowan's people, the Maclachlans, *&c.* could not come up to have a ſhare of the honour, and the Nobility, Gentry, *&c.* ſtood on horſeback, as a reſerve, it may in juſtice be ſaid That 2000 highland foot unſupported by horſe, and charged in front and flank with artillery and ſmall arms, routed a regular army of above four thouſand horſe and foot in open plain, and obtained a moſt ſignal and compleat victory with a very inconſiderable loſs.

" The Prince, as ſoon as victory declared for him, mounted his horſe, and put a ſtop to the ſlaughter; and finding no ſurgeons amongſt the enemy, diſpatched an officer to Edinburgh with orders to bring all the ſurgeons to attend; which was accordingly done.

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" All the enemy's cannon, mortars, ſeveral colours, ſtandards, abundance of horſes and arms, all their tents, baggage, equipage, and military cheſt, in which there was 4000 l. Sterling, were taken.

" 'Tis computed that about 500 of the enemy were killed, 900 wounded, 1400 taken priſoners.

" We had killed on the ſpot, Captain Robert Stuart of Ardſheill's battalion; Captain Archibald Macdonald, of Keppoch's; Lieutenant Allan Cameron of Lindevra, and Enſign James Cameron, both of Lochiel's; and about 30 private men. Wounded: Captain James Drummond, alias Macgregor, of the Duke of Perth's regiment, and about 70 or 80 private men.

" On the other hand, the enemy had killed, Colonel Gardiner; Captain John Stuart of Phiſgill, of Laſcelles's regiment; Brainer and Rogers, of Lee's; Holwell, of Guiſe's; Biſhop, and Enſign Forbes, of Murray's.

We have taken priſoners.

" *Of Gardiner's dragoons:* Lieutenant Colonel Whitney *w* [*not taken*]; Lieutenant Grafton *w*; Quartermaſters Young, Burrough's *w*, and Weſt.

" *Hamilton's:* Lieutenant Colonel Wright *w*; Major Bowles *w*; Cornets Jacob *w* and Naſh; Quartermaſter Naſh; Doctor Trotter.

" *Of Guiſe's foot:* Captain Pointz *w*; Lieutenants Cuming and Paton; Enſigns Wakeman and Irvine.

" *Lord John Murray's, the old highland regiment:* Captain Sir Patrick Murray; Lieutenant James Farquharſon; Enſign Allan Campbell.

" *Lee's:* Lieutenant Colonel Peter Halket; Captains Baſil Cochran, Chapman, and Patton; Lieutenants Sandilands *w*, Drummond *w*, Kennedy, and Hewitſon *w*; Enſigns Hardwick, Archer, and Dunbar; Mr. Wilſon Quartermaſter; Doctor Young.

" *Murray's:* Lieutenant-Colonel Clayton; Major Talbot; Captain Reid. John Cochran Scot, Thomas Leſlie *w*, and Blake *w*; Lieutenants Sir Thomas Hay *w*, Diſney *w*, Wale, Wry, and Simms *w*; Enſigns Sutherland, Lucey, Haldane *w*, Birnie, and L'Eſtrange; Adjutant Spencer.

" *Laſcelles's*

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" *Lascelles's:* Major Severn; Captains Barlow, Forrester, Anderson, Corbet, and Collier; Captain Lieutenant Adam Drummond; Lieutenants Swinie *w*, Johnston, Dundas, and Herron *w*; Ensigns Stone, Cox, Bell, Gordon, and Goulton; Doctor Drummond.

" *Loudon's new highland regiment:* Captains Mackay, Monro, and Stewart, Captain Lieutenant Macnab; Lieutenant Reed; Ensigns Grant, Ross, and Maclaggan; Mr. Hugh Hunter Surgeon.

" Lieutenant Colonel Whiteford voluntier *w*; Major Griffeth *w*; Master-Gunner of Edinburgh castle; Lieutenant Carrick."

N. B. w is annexed to the names of those that were said to have been wounded.

In a subsequent paper, it was said, that after the most strict inquiry, it appeared that only 1456 of the highland army engaged.

Accounts varied as to the numbers of both sides. Different computations made the highlanders 4, 5000, and above that number. Some said that General Cope's army did not exceed 2500 foot, and 6 or 700 dragoons; and others, that they were in whole under 3000. But the following seems to be the truest list of the regular forces.

	Rank and file.
Murray's regiment of foot	580
8 Companies of Lascelles's 2 Companies of Guise's	570
5 Companies of Lee's	291
Of the two highland regiments	183
Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons	567
Exclusive of officers, Serjants, drums, *&c.*	
	2191

They were thus disposed.

The front line,	Foot 1158 Dragoons 249		1407
The second line, dragoons			200
The trained guard			100
The baggage guard, in which were all the highlanders			230

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Foot at Colonel Gardiner's houſe	70.
Foot out on parties	66
Dragoons out on parties	118

From the battle, General Cope, with about 450 dragoons, eſcaped to Lauder, and thence to Berwick,

The Chevalier lay the 21ſt at Pinkie, and next night returned to Holyrood-houſe. The army lay the firſt night about Muſſelburgh; afterwards came to Duddingſton, Canongate, *&c.* kept guard again in the city as before, and in ſome days after incamped at Duddingſton. The Chevalier lay in the camp likewiſe.

All the priſoners taken at the battle of *Gladſmuir* (ſo called by the highland army) were carried to Edinburgh. The officers were liberate upon their parole, Not to depart from the city, nor correſpond with the enemies of the Chevalier; the ſoldiers were confined in the church and priſons of the Canongate, *&c.*; and the wounded were taken care of. Some Serjeants, Corporals, and ſeveral private men, inliſted in the highland army; but a good many of them afterwards deſerted. Towards the end of the month, the private men were ſent to Logirate in Athol, and the officers to Perth. About 70 or 80 of Loudon's highland regiment, that could not be prevailed upon to inliſt, were liberate, upon their ſwearing that they would never carry arms againſt the houſe of Stuart, and received ſome money each from the Chevalier to carry them home,

In the evening of the 21ſt, which was the Saturday after the highland army came to Edinburgh, and the day on which the battle was fought, a meſſage was ſent by the Chevalier to the reſpective dwelling-houſes of the Miniſters of that city, deſiring them to continue publick worſhip as uſual. The bells accordingly rung next day; but none of the Miniſters appeared, ſo that there was ſermon in none of the churches. A proclamation was iſſued in the name of the Chevalier, bearing date the 23d. forbidding any outward demonſtrations of publick joy on account of the late victory, in regard it had been obtained by the effuſion of blood, and had involved many unfortunate

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unfortunate people in great calamity; admonishing all his friends to return thanks to God for his goodness towards them, as he did for himself by that proclamation; and concluding with these words: "And we hereby again repeat what we have so often declared, that no interruption shall be given to publick worship; but, on the contrary, all protection to those concerned in it: and and if, notwithstanding hereof, any shall be found neglecting their duty in that particular, let the blame lie entirely at their own door, as we are resolved to inflict no penalty that may possibly look like persecution." None of the Ministers, however, returned to their churches; but Mr. Hog, morning lecturer in the Tron church, continued to preach as formerly, without disturbance. Messr. Macivcar and Pitcairn, in the West-kirk, likewise continued in their ordinary, prayed for King George, and warmly recommended loyalty. Numbers from the city went to hear them, and there was no disturbance.

Of the same date, a second proclamation was issued, granting protection to all farmers within five miles of Edinburgh, upon their enacting themselves to be ready, on twelve hours warning, to furnish their horses for carrying the baggage of the army to Berwick upon Tweed, or the like distance.

A third was issued, dated the 24th, narrating, That whereas the Chevalier was informed, that several persons in and about Edinburgh, as well clergy as laity, did associate and take up arms against him, and that many of them had fled from their houses, to avoid prosecutions: he therefore granted a full pardon to such persons for all treasons committed by them before publication of the proclamation, provided that within twenty days they presented themselves to John Murray of Burghton, Esq; his Secretary, with a declaration that they should live for the future as quiet and peaceable subjects. A few of the voluntiers, we hear did accordingly present themselves; others absconded before elapsing of the twenty days, and a great many continued peaceably about their business, without presenting themselves.

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A fourth was iſſued, dated the 25th; in which, upon a narrative of the great inconveniencies that had attended the removal of the two banks into the caſtle, and from an opinion induſtriouſly ſpread, as if the Chevalier intended to ſeize the money where-ever it was found; he declared, that the money lodged in the banks ſhould be entirely ſure under his protection, and free from all contributions to be exacted by him in any time coming, ſo that the banks might return to their former buſineſs with ſafety; and that he himſelf ſhould contribute ſo far in the re-eſtabliſhment of publick credit, as to receive and iſſue bank-notes in payments. Neither of the banks, however, reſumed their buſineſs. But, ſome time after this, a demand was made of a conſiderable ſum in payment of notes which the army were poſſeſſed of; and 'tis ſaid the directors were obliged to provide the money.

The ſuperſcription of all proclamations iſſued by the Chevalier is the ſame with that of the manifeſto above mentioned; and the ſubſcription is, *By his Highneſs's command, J. Murray.*

Beſides theſe, there were ſeveral proclamations for preventing thefts and robberies. On pretence of ſearching for arms, there were irregularities committed; very often by perſons who wore white cockades, and yet did not belong to the army. It is however certain, that ſeveral of the private men among the highlanders were likewiſe criminal. As they carried their arms always about with them, and as there was little probability of diſcovering delinquents, ſo as to get redreſs, people were afraid to make oppoſition. Some of theſe, however, were very moderate in their demands. They would ſometimes preſent their piece; and, upon being aſked what they wanted, anſwer *A penny;* with which they would reſt ſatisfied.

Letters were ſent to the following perſons, to repair, upon receipt of the letter, to the Secretary's office at Holyrood-houſe, *viz.* to the magiſtrates of all the boroughs in Scotland, in order to have the contributions to be

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be paid by their reſpective towns, for the Chevalier's uſe, aſcertained; which was to be done in proportion to the duties of exciſe ariſing out of each town; and for repayment of which, the ſaid duty was to be aſſigned; as alſo to all the collectors of the land tax, the collectors and comptrollers of the cuſtoms and exciſe, and the factors on the forfeited eſtates, in order to produce their books, and to pay the balances due to them: to be obeyed on pain of being deemed, and treated as rebels. Great numbers found themſelves obliged to comply. The goods in the cuſtom-houſe of Leith, *&c.* were ſold out for the Chevalier's uſe.

A demand was made upon the city of Glaſgow, and compromiſed by payment of 5500*l.*

The paſſages of the Forth at Kinghorn, Queensferry, *&c.* and all navigation was in a manner blocked up by the King's ſhips.

Tho' the highland army kept guards in the weigh-houſe and in the Graſs-market, no diſturbance was given them from the caſtle till the 25th. That night there was ſome firing of cannon and ſmall arms. Some of the cannon balls ſtruck againſt or went into ſome houſes at the Weſt-port, but did little damage. On the 29th, the guard in the weigh-houſe received orders not to let any paſs or repaſs to or from the caſtle. At night a letter was ſent by General Gueſt to the Lord Provoſt, intimating, that unleſs the communication between the city and caſtle were kept open, he would be obliged to make uſe of cannon for diſlodging the highland guards. It was ſaid his Excellency had an order from court to diſtreſs the city in caſe it did not furniſh proviſions to the garriſon. A meſſage was ſent to the caſtle, and obtained a reſpite for that night. Next morning ſix deputies waited on the Chevalier, and ſhewed him General Gueſt's letter. He immediately gave them an anſwer in writing, importing, That he was equally ſurprized and concerned at the barbarity of the order for bringing diſtreſs upon the city, for not doing what was not in its power to do; that ſhould he out of compaſſion to the city, remove his guards, the caſtle might with equal reaſon ſummon

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ſummon him to quit the town, and abandon the advantages which providence had granted him; that he ſhould be heartily ſorry for any miſchief that might befal the city, and ſhould make it his peculiar care to indemnify it in the moſt ample manner; and that in the mean time he ſhould make full repriſals upon the eſtates of all thoſe who were in the caſtle, and even upon all who were known to be abettors of the preſent government, if he were forced to it by ſuch inhumanities. There were ſome meetings of the inhabitants called upon this affair. Deputies were ſent oftner than once to the caſtle. At laſt a reſpite was obtained for a day, and afterwards for ſix days, in caſe no attack was made upon the caſtle, ſo as the city might have time to get a mitigation of the order from London. And an expreſs was ſent off for that purpoſe.

In the afternoon of the 1ſt of October, the highland centinels fired; whether at the caſtle, or, as was given out by themſelves, to frighten people that were carrying up proviſions, we cannot tell: but thereupon the caſtle fired a good many cannon and ſmall ſhot, which damaged ſome houſes, and wounded one of the highland centinels, and a ſervant maid. Next day the Chevalier publiſhed a proclamation, importing, That being reſolved that no communication ſhould be open between the caſtle and town of Edinburgh during his reſidence in that capital, and to prevent the bad effects of reciprocal firing from thence and from his troops, whereby the houſes and inhabitants of the city might innocently ſuffer; he therefore made publick intimation, that none ſhould dare, without a ſpecial paſs ſigned by his ſecretary, upon pain of death, either to reſort to, or come from the caſtle, upon any pretence whatſoever; with certification, that any perſon convicted of having had any ſuch intercourſe after the preſent proclamation, ſhould immediately be carried to execution. It was now dangerous to be in ſight of the caſtle; for they fired where-ever they ſaw highlanders, and by that means killed and wounded ſeveral of the townſmen.

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On the 3d, a guard was placed at the Weſt-kirk, and another at Livingſton's yards, in order more cloſely to block up the caſtle. But, the ſame day, a ſingle ſoldier ſlipt out, ſet fire to a houſe that defended the guard at the place laſt named, ſhot one of them dead, and returned ſafe. A little after, a party ſallied out, killed ſome more of the guard, took an officer and a few men priſoners, and put the reſt to flight.

On the 4th at noon, notice was ſent to the inhabitants to remove from the North-parts of James's court, and places adjacent, leſt ſome balls might chance to come that way. A few hours after, a terrible cannonading began. When it became dark, a party ſallied out from the caſtle, and ſet fire to a founding-houſe, and another houſe, which was deſerted by the inhabitants. This occaſioned a great conſternation. Mean time the ſalliers threw up a trench croſs the caſtle hill; and, to prevent any interruption, ſcoured the ſtreets with cartridge-ſhot from ſome field-pieces placed on the caſtle-hill; by which a merchant's book keeper and another perſon were killed, and ſeverals wounded. Before their return, the ſoldiers pillaged ſome of the houſes that had been deſerted.

The firing continued next day, and diſtreſſed the inhabitants exceedingly. Bullets did execution at the Fleſh-market cloſe-head, ſo that no body was ſafe to ſtand on the ſtreet. Some houſes were ſhattered. Thoſe who lived expoſed to the caſtle, removed; and carried out the aged and infirm at the imminent hazard of their lives. Great numbers that lived in places that were in no hazard, were likewiſe ſo frightened, that they ran out of town, not knowing whither. Several of the inhabitants ſent off their valuable effects, and a good deal of them were loſt in the confuſion. It was a very affecting ſcene. But at night a proclamation was iſſued by the Chevalier, and publiſhed next day, to this purpoſe, That it was with the greateſt regret he was hourly informed of the many murders which were committed upon the innocent inhabitants of the city, by the inhumane commanders and garriſon of the caſtle, ſo contrary to the laws

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laws of war, the truce granted to the city, and even exceeding the orders given upon this occasion; that, as he had threatened, he might justly proceed to use the powers which God had put into his hands, to chastise those who were instrumental in the ruin of this capital, by reprisals upon the estates and fortunes of those who warred against him; but that he thought it no ways derogatory to the glory of a prince, to suspend punishment, or alter a resolution, when thereby the lives of innocent men could be saved; that, in consequence of this sentiment, his humanity had yielded to the barbarity of his enemies; that the blockade of the castle was taken off, and the threatened punishment suspended.

After this people walked the streets with safety: but it was not convenient to be seen near any highlanders in sight of the castle. Four or five of the towns-people were killed, and a good many wounded, by shot from the castle while it was blockaded. The highlanders kept pretty much under covert, and said they did not suffer much. Notwithstanding all their endeavours to prevent it, provisions were every day carried into the castle; and we have not heard of any person either killed or wounded by the highlanders while they were carrying in the provisions, or punished for it.

The above account of the blockade of the castle, is mostly taken from papers published by authority or under the inspection of the Chevalier; we shall now give the other side, from the London Gazette, *viz.*

"The communication between the town and castle of Edinburgh was kept open till the 29th of September; but that night the rebels took possession of all the avenues leading to the castle, in order to block it up. On the 1st of October, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the rebels began to dig a trench cross the street, a little below the reservoir (if any trench was begun to be dug, it must have been at the back of the reservoir, not cross the street). About three in the afternoon, the garrison fired on them with small arms; killed three of the rebels, and wounded the officer who commanded the party; upon which they discontinued to work at the trench.

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trench. About four o'clock, some great guns were fired from the castle, which did little or no damage to the town. On the 4th, the garrison, under favour of a great fire of their cannon from the half moon, made a trench cross the castle-hill, half way between the gate and the houses, fourteen feet broad and sixteen deep; and from the parapet, made by the earth dug out of the trench on the side next the castle, with the fire of 200 men of the garrison, cleared the street. Upon the 5th, by the help of the towns-people, they obtained twenty black cattle, a quantity of bread and ale, and water from the reservoir. About five that evening, a considerable detachment of the rebels marched up to the castle-hill, to attack the party of the garrison in the trench, who retreated into the castle, upon their approach, without losing a man. The rebels, by creeping up the South-side of the hill, had twenty of their men killed by the cannon from the castle. The pretender's son having, upon the 2d of October, published an order for preventing all communication between the castle and the town, upon pain of death; and great numbers of the rebels having, for that purpose, been placed in the houses near the castle, General Guest was obliged, not only to fire upon them, but to march out and burn them to the ground. Thereupon another order for restoring the communication, was, upon the 6th, pasted up at the several gates of the town, and ever since the garrison have been plentifully supplied with every thing they want"

Besides these proclamations, there were several others published in the name of the young Chevalier during his residence at Edinburgh.

One, dated October 8. says, That being informed, that many persons, disabled from joining him, by reason of age, broken constitutions, or otherwise, were heartily disposed to assist him with money, horses, and arms; but had signified that they were at a loss to know to whom they should apply for these purposes; he therefore declared, that persons in such circumstances sending to his Secretary, where-ever he should happen to be, money, arms, and horses, would be considered by him as

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a very seasonable and acceptable mark of their loyalty.

Another, dated October 9. forbids all Peers and Commoners to pay obedience to the order summoning them to meet in parliament on the 17th, and all people to pay obedience to any order or resolution that might be published in the name of either or both houses, in case they should meet in consequence of said summons.

A second manifesto was issued in the name of the young Chevalier, dated at Holyroodhouse, October 10. This is said to be a smooth paper, and it is generally acknowledged to be well written. The last paragraph contained an advice, which seemed to be very proper for both parties at that juncture. It was in these words: "Civil wars are ever attended with rancour and ill-will, which party-rage never fails to produce in the minds of those, whom different interests, principles, or views, set in opposition to one another. I therefore earnestly require it of my friends, to give as little loose as possible to such passions. This will prove the most effectual means to prevent the same in the enemies of our royal cause."

There was likewise another declaration superscribed *James R.* besides that mentioned. This was signed for England, and another for Scotland. They were both of the same date, *viz.* December 23. 1743. But few copies of the declaration for England were given out here. And there were two letters published, of the same date and superscription with the declarations, one to the officers and sailors in the navy, and the other to the officers and soldiers in the army, inviting them to join the pretender. In the declarations, every officer was promised the same or a higher post, than what they at that time enjoyed, and every soldier and sailor, a year's pay as an encouragement.

Besides the two declarations in the name of the pretender, and the two manifesto's in the name of his son, there was a paper published in the name of the highland army, intitled *A declaration and admonitory letter.*

Some other proclamations were published, for suppressing thefts and robberies, for preserving the regularity of the army, for levying publick money, *&c.* The malt-

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malt-tax was not uplifted, agreeably to a promiſe made in the declaration for Scotland,

On the 14th of October, M. Du Boyer, a French perſon of Quality, arrived at Holyroodhouſe, with diſpatches from the French court. He was ſaid to have a publick character. Several ſhips came from the ſame kingdom with ſuplies for the highland army; ſuch as, money, artillery. ſmall arms, ammunition, and ſome officers, engineers, gunners, *&c.* Two of theſe ſhips, arrived at Montroſe, the firſt on the 7th, and the other towards the end of October; and two at Stonehaven, about the middle of that month.

A paſſage over the Forth to Alloa, was ſecured, by raiſing batteries and planting cannon on each ſide of the river; by which the march of the highlanders from the North, was ſhortened by three or four days. The ladings of the above ſhips were likwiſe brought this way. Before the army marched from Edinburgh, the guard poſted to ſecure this paſſage withdrew, and carried off their cannon; after which a party from Stirling caſtle deſtroyed ſame boats that had been uſed by the highlanders.

One Robert Monro, alias Maccowny, who had put on a white cockade, but did not belong to the army, was ſhot for robbery, on the 16th, as was Daniel Smith, for deſertion. on the 17th, both by ſentence of a court-martial. They were attended in their laſt hours by Miniſters of the eſtabliſhed church.

Notice was ſent on the 19th, to the ſoldiers who had been wounded at the late battle, and had been taken care of in the Royal infirmary, charity-work-houſe, and other places, that ſuch of them as would vow, not to carry arms againſt the houſe of Stuart or their allies before the 1ſt of January 1747, ſhould get a paſs to carry them home to their native countries. 'Tis ſaid, that between 2 and 300 of them accepted of this offer, that others would not accept of it, and that a good many of them had ſtoln away after they were cured.

On the 23d the Ludlow caſtle man of war came into Leith road. A few cannon were fired by her or the

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Fox at some parties of highlanders posted at Leith and Newhaven; but did little or no damage. Admiral Byng, in the Gloucester, came into the road on the 26th. After the arrival of these ships, the highlanders patroled for some miles along the sea side every night.

A coach and six, and four men on horseback, of whom the Earl of Dundonald was one, happening to come to the West-port of Edinburgh between eight and nine at night of the 27th, the gate being shut, a call was given by the coachman to open; and 'tis said he added, *to the Prince's friends*, tho' no man belonging to the army was in the company. Whither this was the cause of their suspicion, we know not; but the centinels on duty in the castle alarmed the guard, and thereupon three cannon load with catridge-shot were fired; by which one Moy, a Glasgow horse-hirer, was killed, a Gentlewoman wounded, the Earl of Dundonald's horse shot under him, and one of the coach-horses wounded. We are assured that the commanders in the castle were very sorry when they came to be informed of their mistake

On the 30th of October, the King's birthday, about 100 maltmen and other tradesmen's servants, possessed themselves of the church and steeple of Perth, and rang the bells about mid day. There were no highlanders in Perth at the time, only about a dozen of men mostly workmen in the town, were hired to keep guard. Mr. Oliphant of Gask, who was appointed Deputy-Governor by the Chevalier, sent to desire those who rung the bells, to desist; but they refused to comply, and continued ringing. In the afternoon, Mr. Oliphant, with his small guard, and three or four Gentlemen, posted themselves in the council-house, in order to secure about 400 small arms, ammunition, *&c.* belonging to the highland army, that were lodged there; and in the tolbooth adjoining. At night seven North-country Gentlemen in the same interest, with their servants, came to town, and immediately joined their friends in the council-house. Mean time the mob made a bonfire or two on the streets; some loyal people illuminated their windows; the mob ordered all the inhabitants to follow their example, broke the

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the windows that were not illuminated, and proceeded to ſome other outrages. About nine o'clock at night, a ſmall party from the council-houſe marched up the ſtreet, to diſperſe the mob, fired upon and wounded three of them. Upon which they ruſhed in upon the party, diſarmed and wounded moſt of them, being under a dozen in number. After this the mob placed guards at all the gates of the town, took poſſeſſion of the main guard, and rung the fire bell once and again, in order to raiſe the whole town; by which they drew together about 200 people, but none of any note. They run up and down the ſtreets, and even into houſes, and inſulted thoſe whom they thought to be Jacobites. Before they rang the fire-bell the ſecond time, they ſent a meſſage in writing, ſigned by initials, to Mr. Oliphant, requiring him to withdraw inſtantly, and yield up the arms, ammunition, *&c.* to them. This was refuſed; and thereupon hoſtilities were begun about two o'clock in the morning, and continued till about five. The mob fired at the council-houſe from cloſe-heads, from behind ſtairs, and from windows; ſo that they in the council-houſe could not look out but in the utmoſt hazard. About five o'clock the mob diſmiſſed. An Iriſh Captain in the French ſervice was killed in the council-houſe, and three or four wounded. Of the mob four were wounded, of whom George Gorry weaver died in two or three days. A good many of them have fled. Next day about 60 of Lord Nairn's men were brought into the town, and ſoon after about 130 highlanders.

The highland army, who lay incamped at Duddingſton, ſtruck their tents about the middle of October, and were quartered in the neighbourhood.

Before the army marched, a proclamation was iſſued in the name of the Chevalier, dated October 28. importing, That whereas he was informed that ſeveral theſts and robberies had been committed in and about Edinburgh, by villiains aſſuming the character of ſoldiers in his army, as well as by others; and whereas he was heartily diſpoſed to diſcourage ſuch practices by all means poſſible; he therefore promiſed, that if any effects ſo

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ſtoln or robbed ſhould be returned in three days after the date, no queſtions ſhould be aſked; but that all perſons in whoſe cuſtody ſuch effects ſhould be afterwards found, would be puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour. And for the more effectual detecting of robbers, thieves, or reſetts, he promiſed the diſcoverers 5 l. upon conviction of each offender.

Horſes, corn, hay. *&c.* were taken from ſeveral people for the uſe of the army. Sometimes the perſons that made the demand would ſhew no order, ſometimes they did ſhew an order, and ſometimes they gave receipts. They ordered a conſiderable number of horſes and carts to attend them in their march; but promiſed to diſmiſs theſe ſo ſoon as they could be provided with other horſes, and to pay the ſervants that attended them 6 d. *per* day. A ſmall body of light horſe, called huſſars, was formed before they marched.

Next day, the laſt of the highlanders evacuated the city of Edinburgh. Thereupon the city-company took poſſeſſion of the main guard, armed with cudgels or battons. The rear of the highland army marched from Dalkeith, Southwards, on the 3d of November, the Chevalier on foot, with his target over his ſhoulder.

When the highland army marched Southward, they left about two dozen of their wounded in the infirmary at Edinburgh; and the promiſe of one or two Gentlemen in town, of known attachment to the government, was taken, that they ſhould uſe their intereſt to prevent any harſh things being done to them. Ballie John Wilſon merchant was taken as a hoſtage for performance. But, after ſtaying one night with the army at Dalkeith, he was permitted to return home next day, November 2. upon ſome citizens ſigning a paper to the ſame purpoſe with the promiſe made by the Gentlemen above mentioned. On the 4th, ſome parties came out of the caſtle, and ſearched for arms. Among other places they went to the infirmary; where finding a few arms, they were a little rude to ſome of the highlanders, and took a few trifles from them. On notice of this, the above Gentlemen ordered a note to be made out, of the loſs ſuſtained

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ed by the highlanders, in order to their being reimburſed, and requeſted General Gueſt to give ſtrict orders that no injury ſhould be done them for the future; which his Excellency readily complied with.

On their march Southward, the highlanders killed a conſiderable number of deer belonging to the Marquis of Lothian.

General Blakeney having got notice, that the rear of the men who conducted the arms, *&c.* from Montroſe, were to paſs the Forth at Alloa on the 30th of October, diſpatched Captain Abercromby from Stirling, with ſome ſoldiers and countrymen, to attack them; which they accordingly did, wounded ſome, took ſeveral priſoners, ſome cows, horſes, baggage, arms, money, and letters; all which they carried into Stirling caſtle that night.

Glengyle, Chief of the clan Macgregor, who was appointed governor of Innerſnaid, Down, *&c.* by the Pretender's ſon, having gone with a party into Argyleſhire, in order to raiſe men, was attacked by three companies of Loudon's regiment from Inverary, under the command of their Lieutenant-Colonel, John Campbell, Eſq; and obliged to retreat, with the loſs of two men killed and 18 taken priſoners. Colonel Campbell had one man killed.

On the 5th of November the following proclamation was paſted up in Edinburgh.

GEORGE WADE, Eſq;

Field Marſhal of his Majeſty's forces, one of his Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy Council, Lieutenant General of the Ordnance, and Colonel of one of his Majeſty's regiments of horſe, &c. &c. &c.

WHereas it has been repreſented to his Majeſty, that ſeveral of his ſubjects, inhabiting the highlands of Scotland, and others, have been ſeduced by menaces and threatenings of their chiefs and ſuperiors, to take arms, and enter into a moſt unnatural rebellion; his Majeſty has authoriſed me to aſſure all ſuch, who ſhall return to their habitations, on or before the 12th day

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day of November next, and become faithful to his Majesty and his government, that they shall be objects of his Majesty's clemency: but if, after this his most gracious intention being signified, they continue in their rebellion, they will be proceeded against with rigour suitable to the nature of their crime. Given at the camp at Newcastle-upon Tyne, this 30th day of October 1745.

GEORGE WADE.
By his Excellency's command,
THOMAS COCKAYNE.

For some time after the march of the highland army Southwards, the Western roads swarmed with deserters from it.

There was publick worship in several of the churches of Edinburgh on the 3d of November, in all of them on the 10th, and regularly ever after. The synod of Lothian and Tweedale, and the presbytery of Edinburgh, complimented the commanders in the castle for their vigilance in the late time of danger. Addresses were sent to the King by several ecclesiastical courts, and a letter was published from the presbytery of Dornoch to the Earl of Sutherland, thanking his Lordship for his early appearance in favour of our happy constitution and government, and for sending a good number of his countrymen to be empolyed against the rebels.

While the rebels were in possession of Edinburgh, the Lord Justice-Clerk, Mr Dundas, Solicitor, and others of his Majesty's servants, had retired to Berwick. After the rebels marched to England, they returned to the city, and resumed the functions of their several posts The Lord Justice-Clerk and some others of the Lords of Justiciary entered the city on the 12th of November, attended by the Earl of Home and Lord Belhaven, High Sheriffs of the counties of Berwick, and East- Lothain, Mr. Alexander Lind Sheriff-depute of Edinburghshire, and a great number of the Gentlemen and others in these counties At the cross they were met by the Gentlemen lately in the administration, and other inhabitants of distinction.

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ſtinction. They alighted in the Parliament cloſe, and were ſaluted by a round of the great guns from the caſtle; the muſick bells playing the whole time of their proceſſion, and the people joining their loud huzzas. The whole company immediately aſſembled in the parliament-houſe, and the Lord Juſtice-Clerk made them the following ſpeech.

MY brethren and I thought it our duty to our King and country, to you as well as ourſelves, to lay hold of the firſt opportunity providence put in our power (by the departure of the rebel army from this part of the country) to return to this capital, and with your help, Gentlemen, to endeavour to reſtore and preſerve the peace of this city and adjacent country, and, as far as lies in our power, to revive the civil government; and to ſhow to his Majeſty and the world, how little acceſſion the South part of Scotland has had to the recent calamities it has felt, and which the government ſtill feels in the moſt ſenſible manner.

But, as military force is neceſſary for protecting this city and country, ſo long as the open rebellion ſubſiſts, we have the pleaſure to acquaint you, that Field-Marſhal Wade loſt no time in ordering a body of troops to march to this city.

As in coming to this place we have been honoured with the company of the High Sheriffs, and you, Gentlemen, we look upon it as a mark of your zeal for the ſpeedy and effectual re-eſtabliſhment of his Majeſty's government; in which, if the preſent troubles do not very ſoon ſubſide, your, help Gentlemen, may be of great ſervice: for indeed, while the rebels keep the field, we muſt, both in city and country, conſider ourſelves as in a ſtate of war, notwithſtanding the preſent *glimpſe* we have of ſome peace and quiet; ſo that it is ſtill neceſſary that proviſion be made for preventing any future diſturbances from the rebels or their aſſociates.

May we therefore preſume to recommend it to the heritors of every pariſh, to make up liſts of all the able-bodied men in their reſpective bounds, proper to be truſted

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ed with arms? in which great assistance may be got from the Reverend Ministers of the established church; who (as they always do) have on this occasion given testimony of their great zeal for his Majesty's government. And we recommend it to the Sheriffs now present, to give notice to the heritors that were absent; and we recommend to them, to deliver these lists to their respective Sheriffs, to be by them transmitted to such person or persons as his Majesty shall appoint for that purpose. The sooner that these lists be made up and transmitted so much securer the present tranquillity will be.

As I have in my eye a great many of the inhabitants of this ancient city, I cannot omit condoling with them on their late dismal situation, and their present want of a regular government. I hope his majesty, in his great goodness, will in due time take their case under his Royal consideration; and that he will soon be convinced of the loyalty and zeal of by far the greatest number of the inhabitants of this city. For arming such, if found necessary and expedient, proper orders are given by Field-Marshal Wade. Mean time, what assistance my brethren or I can give, for preserving the peace of this place, shall not be wanting.

Thus I have endeavoured, so far as I have been able to recollect, to deliver to you, Gentlemen, the united sentiments of my brethren and me on this occasion.

Next day, Lieutenant General Handasyd arrived in town from Berwick, with Price's and Ligonier's regiments of foot, and Hamilton's and Ligonier's (late Gardiner's) regiments of dragoons. All the Foot and Ligonier's dragoon's were quartered within the city, and Hamilton's dragoons in the Canongate, &c. An invitation was sent them, as was said, by some of the eminent citizens. As there were at that time no magistrates, the Constables were in a doubt how they could lawfully billet the troops upon the inhabitants, and therefore obtained a warrant for that purpose from the Lord Justice-clerk, the Lords Minto, Elchies and Drummore, as Justices of the Peace.

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A meeting of the ſubſcribers to the fund for raiſing the Edinburgh regiment was called on the 20th. A conſiderable number of men had been raiſed, but diſperſed upon the rebels getting poſſeſſion of the city. By order of this meeting, a new ſubſcription was opened, for completing the full 1000 men, to be under the direction of the commander in chief of the forces in Scotland; and an advertiſement was publiſhed, inviting the men formerly inliſted to re-enter, and promiſing a reaſonable gratuity to ſuch of them as had ſhewed an alacrity to march out and fight the rebels. All able bodied men whoſe loyalty could be atteſted, were likewiſe received. They were bound to ſerve only three month's. Letters were ſent to Miniſters and well affected Gentlemen to aſſiſt in prevailing with proper perſons to inliſt, and they had good ſucceſs.

On the 27th the freeholders of the county met at Edinburgh. They were of opinion, that the capital was of ſuch importance, that no means ought to be left untried to preſerve it from falling again into the enemy's hands; and therefore ordered letters to be writ to the ſeveral Miniſters, to be aſſiſting to the heritors, in preparing liſts of able-bodied men within their pariſhes, to be forthwith levied, armed, and to march to the defence of the city if occaſion required. The men were to be maintained at the expence of the ſhire.

The ſame ſpirit reigned in other places of the kingdom, eſpecially in the Weſt.——The town of Stirling raiſed 400 men, and put them under the command of General Blakeney.——The militia of Glaſgow and the neighbourhood, amounting to 3000, were reviewed by the Earl of Home, having got arms from Edinburgh. About 300 Seceders appeared likewiſe in arms. Major General Campbell came to Inverary, with money, arms, ammunition, *&c.* from England, in order to raiſe the people of Argyleſhire.

After the return of the officers of ſtate, *&c.* to Edinburgh, the banks reſumed their buſineſs. The caſtle-flag was no longer diſplayed.

Several

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Several perſons were committed on ſuſpicion of treaſon. A Gentleman or two belonging to the highland army were ſeized by the country people in the Weſt, and ſent in priſoners to Edinburgh; particularly Mr. Spalding of Whitefield going North, and Donald Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart going South.——This laſt is the Gentleman at whoſe houſe the pretender's ſon lodged, and who was with him for two months before any other joined him, He was ſent ſome time before to Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird of Macleod, to prevail upon them to join: but they utterly refuſed. There was a letter found in his pocket from Mr. Murray, the pretender's ſon's Secretary, telling him, that in caſe he did not ſucceed with Sir Alexander and Macleod, he muſt be ſure to give it out in the country, as he paſſed along, that they were upon their march to join the pretender's ſon with 2000 men well armed; that otherwiſe they could not keep the army they had together, ſeveral of the chiefs having declared, that, if thoſe two clans did not join, they would march back again.——This letter is dated at Holyrood-houſe October 27th the original was lodged with General Gueſt, and theſe are the contents. "His Royal Highneſs has judged it neceſſary to ſend your brother Allan to meet you with this letter, to deſire you to give it out where-ever you come, that Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Macleods were actually on their march, notwithſtanding you may have received contrary information. He likewiſe deſires you may make all haſte to come up; when I ſhall ſatisfy you how neceſſary it is to keep theſe Gentlemen's delay a ſecret; I am ſincerely, *&c.*

About the middle of November, the Earl of Loudon had a conſiderable force at Inverneſs, conſiſting of part of his own Regiment, the Earl of Southerland's and Lord Rea's people, Monroes, Grants, and 400 Macleods; and having received arms and money by the Saltaſh ſloop of war, his Lordſhip was preparing to ſet out to quell the commotions in that neighbourhood, to ſupply the garriſons with neceſſaries, and to prevent Lord Lewis Gordon from giving any further diſturbance. The

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greateſt

greateſt zeal had been ſhewn for the ſupport of his Majeſty's government by the Lord Fortroſe and Sir Alexander Macdonald.

Towards the End of November, Lord John Drummond, with 800 Scots and Iriſh, in ſix tranſports from Dunkirk, Landed at Montroſe, Stonehaven and Peterhead. By this reinforcement, the Rebels about Perth, &c. were 3000 ſtrong. The Hazard ſloop of war fell into their hands at Montroſe, and Captain Hill and the crew were made priſoners. They erected batteries at the mouth of the harbour.——A ſhort while before, Captain Hill had cauſed burn two Montroſe ſhips in the harbour, for refuſing to unrigg, or on ſuſpicion of their having piloted in ſome French ſhips,

Upon advice that the rebels intended to force a paſſage near Stirling, Lieutenant General Handaſyd ordered a conſiderable force to march thither to oppoſe them.—The commanders of the caſtle of Edinburgh were in the mean time laying up quantities of proviſions.

There were great complaints of the highlanders from the North.——A letter from Angus ſaid, that Perth, Dundee, and the country round, were one ſcene of horror and oppreſſion; that robberies were perpetual, many of them in open day, in the publick ſtreets; that in Strathmore they robbed many of the clergy of conſiderable ſums; that the whole pariſhes in Angus were diſtreſſed by preſſing men, or a compoſition of money; that ſome Gentlemen were aſſeſſed in 50 l. ſome in 100 l. and ſome in 200 l.; that illuminations were ordered at Dundee on account of the arrival of the French; that the Preſbyterian Miniſters windows were broke becauſe not illuminated; that they threw ſtones, and even fired ſharp ſhot into one of them; that when violent attempts were made to break in, the family eſcaped by a back door; but that the aged Miniſter, unwilling to quite his houſe, wrote to one of their commanding officers, of his acquaintance, and got them called off.—This ſhews, that the loyalty of the people of Perth was ill-timed, as it occaſioned inconveniencies to ſome of his Majeſty's beſt friends, by

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by setting an example that gave the rebels a pretext to make reprisals.

The rebels, whose rear left Dalkeith on the 3d of November, marched Southward in three columns; one body of between 4 and 5000, by way of Peebles, Moffat, &c; the middle column, by Lauder, Selkirk, and Hawick; and the Eastermost column of between 3 and 4000, by Kelso. The prender's son arrived at Kelso on the 4th at night. From this place, a message was sent to Wooler, ordering quarters to be provided for 4000 foot and 1000 horse; but not withstanding, this division crossed Tweed on the 6th, and took the road to Hawick; from thence to Halyhaugh on the 7th, and to Longholm, Cannoby on the Scots side, and Longton, on the 8th. On the 9th they marched towards Rowcliff; where they crossed the river within four miles of Carlisle, and thence pursued their march to Murray's on Brough side: where they lay that night, about four miles Southward of Carlisle. That afternoon, part of the corps which took route by Moffat, with the artillery joined them, and all the rest next day, except about 200, which could not join before the 11th. The whole militia of the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland were in the garrison of Carlisle. Many of the rebels deserted on their march from Edinburgh, particulary at Kelso; and many stragglers, with their arms, were seized, and delivered by the country-people into the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, or to the commanders of his Majesty's ships.

Marshal Wade, on notice of the rebels having moved Southwards, countermanded the orders he had given for the march of his army to Berwick about the 4th, resolving to continue at Newcastle till the designs of the rebels should be more certainly known.

On the 9th about 50 or 60 of the rebels well mounted, and thought to be officers, appeared on Stanwix bank, a hill close by Carlisle. The castle fired upon them; and, after some time, they retreated. At three o'clock afternoon, the Mayor received a message from them, to provide billets for 13,000 men that night; which he refused:

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fused: and at night the city was surrounded by about 9000 of them. Next day, a body of them approached the walls, first bending towards the Irish gate, but afterwards marched round to the English gate, in order to reconnoitre the place, as was judged; during which motions they were fired at both from town and castle. At three afternoon, the Mayor received a message in writing addressed, *For the Mayor of Carlisle*, dated, *November* 10th *two in the afternoon*, and subscribed *Charles P. R.* in the following words.

Charles Prince of Wales, Regent of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging.

BEING come to recover the King our father's just rights, for which we are arrived with all his authority, we are sorry to find that you should prepare to obstruct our passage. We therefore, to avoid the effusion of English blood, hereby require you to open your gates, and let us enter as we desire, in a peaceable manner; which if you do, we shall take care to preserve you from any insult, and set an example to all England of the exactness with which we intend to fulfil the King our father's declarations and our own. But if you shall refuse us entrance, we are fully resolved to force it by such means as Providence has put into our hands: and then it will not perhaps be in our power to prevent the dreadful consequences which usually attend a town's being taken by assault. Consider seriously of this, and let me have your answer within the space of two hours; for we shall take any further delay as a peremptory refusal, and take our measures accordingly.

To this the Mayor returned no answer, but by firing the cannon upon them. It was supposed they were to make a vigorous attack in the night, the firing continuing till midnight.

On the 11th, the main body of the rebels marched to Brampton, about seven miles East on the road to Newcastle. By ten o'clock that day, the Pretender's son was

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at Warwick caſtle. A body of the rebels, which the garriſon took for the rear-guard, appeared the ſame day upon Stanwix bank; but, the guns firing upon them, they fled in great haſte. At night this body took up their quarters at Rickarby, and the villages near it, on the North of the Eden; but, receiving an order to march for Brampton without loſs of time, they ſet out immediately; but were not able to march above a mile and a half that night, their carriage horſes having failed them. Some ſtragglers were brought into Carliſle, and and two carriages laden with biſcuit. Upon the 12th, the rebels remained at Brampton, Warwick bridge, and the villages between thoſe two places. They had ſixteen field-pieces. On the 13th, a great body of them marched back to Carliſle. They forced four carpenters along, to aſſiſt in erecting batteries. A highland Quarter-maſter (Stuart) taken near Carliſle, was ſent to Newcaſtle to Marſhal Wade; but four light horſe-men that conducted him, fell into the hands of the rebels in their return. It was ſaid, that at this time the rebels ſhot at every body that fled from them; that one perſon was killed by them; that they were putting the country under millitary execution; and that they ſeized all able-bodied men, horſes and carriages, and declared they would force them to carry their ladders to the walls of Carliſle. The cannon of the town fired upon them very briſkly; and on the 14th they approached ſo near the walls, that the garriſon threw granadoes at them. They broke ground about 300 yards from the citadel, and at Spring garden, near the horſe race round. On the 15th the town ſurrendered; which is thus accounted for. For ſeven days before, neither officers nor common men of the garriſon got ſcarce an hour's reſt, being perpetually alarmed by the rebels; and many of them were ſo ſick thro' the great fatigue, that being out of all hopes of a ſpeedy relief, they abſolutely refuſed to hold out any longer; and multitudes went off every hour over the walls, ſome of which fell into the hands of the rebels, till the officers of many companies were at laſt left with not above three or four men; ſo that the Mayor

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and corporation determined to hang out the white flag, (tho' contrary to the opinion and proteſtation of Colonel Durand, the Commandant), and made the beſt terms they could get for themſelves; the garriſon being permitted to go to their reſpective homes. Thereupon the Colonel was obliged to abandon the caſtle; the rebels threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to deſtroy the whole town by fire and ſword. By the firſt accounts of the ſurrender of the town, it was ſaid, that Colonel Durand was determined to defend the caſtle to the laſt extremity, that he had prepared every thing for that purpoſe, and that is was ſuppoſed he would be able to hold out eight days: and the letters from the Colonel himſelf in a day or two after, bore, That, before the ſurrender of the place, he had time to nail up ten pieces of the cannon on the ramparts, from four to two pounders; that he had prevailed upon 400 men (beſides the two companies of invalids) to join with him in defending the caſtle; but that before eight the next morning they had changed their reſolution, and had all left him to a man; ſo that, upon calling a council of war, conſiſting of the officers of the invalids, it was unanimouſly agreed, that, with the ſmall force remaining under his orders, which did not exceed 80 men, many of them extremely infirm, it was not poſſible to defend the caſtle.

Here we will leave the *Gazette* a little, and give ſome other accounts of the ſurrender of this place.

One ſaid to be an eye-witneſs gives the following account: "On Saturday the 9th, about three o'clock afternoon, a body of the rebels appeared at Stanwix bank, within a quarter of a mile of Carliſle; and, it being the market-day there, they mixed with the country people returning home; ſo that it was not poſſible for the garriſon to fire upon them for ſome time, without riſk of injuring their neighbours along with their enemies. But, in leſs than half an hour, the country-people diſperſed themſelves; and than the garriſon of the caſtle fired a ten-gun battery upon them, which it is believed killed ſeveral. Then, night coming on, they retreated to a greater diſtance from the city, and the garriſon ſtood all the

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night under arms. At two in the morning a thick fog came on, which remained till twelve that day, when it cleared up about an hour; and then the garrison discovered the rebels approaching to attack the city in three several parties, *viz.* one at Stanwix-bank, commanded by the Duke of Perth; a second at Shading gate lane, commanded by the Marquis of Tullibardine, who also had the artillery; and the third in Black-well-fields, where the Pretender commanded the rest of their body, facing the English gate. Upon discovering these three parties approaching so near to the city, the garrison fired upon them, *viz.* the four-gun battery upon the Marquis of Tullibardine; who was heard to say, *Gentlemen, we have not metal for them; retreat;* which they immediately did, and disappeared. The turret guns and the citadel-guns were fired upon the Pretender's division; where the white flag was displayed; which was seen to all. About the same time the ten-gun battery was fired upon the Duke of Perth's division; who also retired. Then the thick fog struck in again, and all the inhabitants of the city expected nothing but a general assault would be made by the rebels: against which the walls were well lined with men; and Sir John Pennington, Doctor Waugh, Chancellor, Humphrey Senhouse, Joseph Daire Ealstan of Acran bank, Esqs. with several other Gentlemen of note, stood all night under arms, to encourage and assist them. The militia was also drawn up at the foot of Castle-street, to be ready, in case of a forcible attack, to relieve and reinforce the men upon the walls. On Monday morning, the fog still continuing thick, the garrison could not observe the situation of the rebels; but heard their pipers playing not far from the English gate. About ten o'clock, a man was let down from the city-walls, to reconnoitre the enemy; and he found they had retired to Warwick bridge. Afternoon other spies were likewise dispatched, to observe their motions; and discovered a great number about Warwick bridge: but the Pretender, with his guard and attendants, were advanced to Brampton; where they lodged that night. On Tuesday they lay idle from all action, except feats of

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rapine

rapine and plunder; for they ſpent the day in hunting and deſtroying the ſheep of Lord Carliſle's tenants, and bearing off the country-people's geeſe and other poultry. They alſo ſeized upon all the horſes they could lay hands on, without any queſtion relating to *value* or *property*; notwithſtanding they declare the deſign of their expedition is to redreſs grievances, and correct abuſes. Tueſday night the rebels ſlept quietly with full bellies. On Wedneſday morning, about ten o'clock, they diſplayed the white flag at Warwick bridge end; to which they were about three hours in repairing. About one o'clock, the young Pretender, attended by Lord George Murray, the Duke of Perth, and ſeveral others, beſides thoſe called his guards, came to them. Upon which they formed themſelves, and began to march again to Carliſle, in the following order: Firſt, two, (named huſſars), in highland dreſs, and high rough read caps, like pioneers; next, about half a dozen of the chief leaders, followed by a kettledrum; then, the Pretender's ſon, at the head of about 110 horſe, called his guards, two and two abreaſt; after theſe, a confuſed multitude of all ſorts of mean people, to the number (as was ſuppoſed) of about 6000. In this order they advanced to the height of Warwick-muir; where they halted about half an hour, and took an attentive view of the city. From thence the foot took the lead, and ſo they marched to Carliſle about three in the afternoon; when they began a freſh aſſault, and the city renewed their fire.—On Thurſday it was diſcovered, that the rebels had thrown up a trench which intimidated the town; and in a conſultation it was reſolved to capitulate: a deputation was ſent to the Pretender, at Brampton, and the town and caſtle were delivered up on Friday morning."

A letter dated at Kendal, November 18. ſays, "An officer in our militia, who is a man of fortune and good credit, declares, that Carliſle merits no greater honour by its ſurrender to the rebels than Edinburgh did. The garriſon wholly conſiſted of the Cumberland and Weſtmoreland militia, together with a few voluntiers, and two imperfect companies of invalids. There were beſides

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ſides ſome independent companies of the town, who would not aſſiſt the ſaid garriſon with more than two or three men out of a company; ſo that they were obliged to be upon duty, and the week before one half relieved the other alternately. The militia were alſo put to ſeveral other great hardſhips; many of the inhabitants making them pay an exorbitant price for proviſions; and they could not, for any money, procure a ſufficient quantity of ſtraw to lie upon on the walls. Captain Wilſon (ſon of Daniel Wilſon, Eſq; member for Weſtmoreland) paid 30 s. for the uſe of a cobler's ſtall under the walls. Upon the firſt approach of the rebels, the garriſon gave out that themſelves were 3000 ſtrong; upon which the rebels durſt not attempt the city immediately, but went forward towards Brampton; from whence they returned on the 13th. The garriſon kept continually firing upon them, till they were obliged, on the 14th, by the manager in the town, to deſiſt, and come off from the walls; and continued ſo all that night: during which time it was ſuppoſed the terms of capitulation were ſettled. Next morning they obſerved that the rebels had intrenched themſelves before the town; upon which the garriſon renewed their fire with great ſpirit and bravery; but ſoon received orders again to deſiſt, for the capitulation was agreed upon. The Duke of Perth, with his diviſion, were the firſt of the rebels that entered Carliſle the pretender being then ſix miles from the city. They made the garriſon ſwear never to appear in arms any more againſt them; and Perth, ſhaking the men by the hands, told them they were brave fellows, and offered them great ſums to inliſt with him. The rebels took above 200 good horſes, and all the arms from the militia beſides 1000 ſtand lodged in the caſtle. They alſo found a rich booty in the caſtle; the people of the country round about having brought thither, for ſafety, the moſt valuable of their effects. The town capitulated on the 14th, in the evening; and on the 15th, at ten o'clock in the morning, it was given up. About one in the afternoon the rebels entered the city, and the next morning the caſtle was ſurrendered to them. Several of the militia

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militia endeavoured to escape, without being obliged to take the oath; as also did some of Cope's men, who had deserted from the rebels; one of which they threatened should be shot, as an example to deter others."

The account in the *Caledonian Mercury* was thus. "The trenches were opened before Carlisle on Wednesday the 13th in the evening, and were conducted under the direction of Mr. Grant, Chief Engineer, (whose skill is very much extolled), with such success, that on Friday morning the batteries were erected within 40 fathoms of the walls. All that time the cannon and small arms from both city and castle played most furiously; but with no loss to the besiegers, other than of a French gunner and a private man killed. The Duke of Perth and the Marquis of Tullibardine wrought at the trenches in their shirts, tho' the weather was so excessively cold, that none of the army, but the highlanders, who were accustomed by their climate, could easily endure it. On Friday, when the cannon began to play, and the scaling-ladders were brought forward in order to an assault, a white flag was hung out, and the city offered to surrender upon terms for themselves. On this an express was sent to the Chevalier, who was at Brampton with a great part of the army, in order to oppose Marshal Wade, in case he should advance with design to raise the siege. He answered, That he would not do things by halves, and that the city had no terms to expect unless the castle surrendered at the same time. When this answer was reported, Colonel Durand consented to surrender the castle also. The terms were, That the town and castle, with the artillery and magazines, should be delivered up: that the men should lay down their arms in the market-place, after which they should have passes to go where they pleased, upon taking an oath, not to carry arms against the house of Stuart for a twelvemonth; that the city of Carlisle should retain its privileges; that they should deliver up all arms, *&c.* and also the horses of such as had appeared in arms against the Pretender; and that all the deserters particularly the soldiers inlist-

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with the highlanders after the late battle, who had fled to Carliſle, ſhould be delivered up. On Friday afternoon the Duke of Perth took poſſeſſion of the place in the Pretender's name, and next day they proclaimed his and his ſon's manifeſto's, &c. attended by the Mayor and other Majeſtrates, with the ſword and mace carried before them. They found in the caſtle and city a great number of cannon, about fifteen coehorn mortars, a a great quantity of cannon balls, granadoes, ſmall bombs, pickaxes, and other military ſtores; likewiſe many of the broad ſwords that were taken at Preſton in 1715, and about 100 barrels of gun-powder. It was ſaid, that all the plate and valuable effects lodged in the caſtle for ſecurity, were ordered to be delivered to the owners."

According to the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, the Mayor and Aldermen were, by the capitulation, obliged to aſſiſt at the ceremony of reading the declarations, &c. It was obſerved, that, the day before the rebels returned from Brampton, the Mayor wrote to Lord Lonſdale, Lord Lieutenant of the county, that he had done more than Edinburgh, and even all Scotland. This indeed, adds the news-writer, proved true, by his ſurrender of a ſtrong and important fortreſs; which was what the rebels never got poſſeſſion of in Edinburgh, nor in all Scotland.—Some accounts ſaid, there was not a gun fired againſt the place.

About 30 cart-load of baggage belonging to the highland army was left at Lockerby, for want of horſes. The party that guarded it, either from an eagerneſs to aſſiſt at the ſiege of Carliſle, or for fear of being overpowered by about 1000 country-people, from about Dumfries, headed by four Gentlemen of diſtinction, who were advancing to attack them, marched off for Carliſle, leaving the baggage; which was thereupon ſeized upon the 14th. After the ſurrender of Carliſle, a party, under the command of Lochiel, were ordered back to Dumfries, to reclaim the baggage, or 2000 l. in its ſtead, from that town. But, before they reached the

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the place, they were recalled, to join the army.—— We now return to the *Gazette*.

When the news of the rebels returned to Brampton, in order to make an attempt upon Carliſle, reached Marſhal Wade at Newcaſtle, where the army was incamped, his Excellency called a council of war, in which it was determined to march to the relief of that place, and to give battle to the rebels. The army accordingly moved on the 16th, by Ovingham, and arrived at Hexham on the 17th at midnight. Here receiving advice, as well of the ſurrender of Carliſle, as of the advance of the rebels to Penrith; and finding the roads, thro' the great quantity of ſnow that had fallen, in a manner impaſſable, it was reſolved, in a council of war, to march the army back immediately to Newcaſtle; where they accordingly arrived on the 22d, and were lodged in the publick halls, glaſs-houſes, malt-houſes, and other empty buildings.

About the 16th, the King ordered a body of troops, conſiſting of three regiments of horſe, two of dragoons, and fifteen of foot, to march forthwith towards Lancaſhire, under the command of Lieutenant General Sir John Ligonier; and his Excellency ſet out from London on the 21ſt. Two battalions of foot-guards ſet forward to join them on the 23d, and the Duke of Cumberland was appointed to take upon him the command. A third battalion of the foot-guards and Cobham's dragoons got orders to march about the 26th, in order likewiſe to join them; and his Royal Highneſs ſet out from St. James's that day, to put himſelf on their head.

The rebels left a garriſon in the caſtle of Carliſle, of about 100 men. A ſmall body of their horſe entered Penrith on the 18th, and the reſt of the army on the three days following. Before the arrival of the rear, the van had marched by the Lancaſhire road. About 120 of their horſe came to Kendal on the 21ſt; as did, next day, the Pretender's ſon with his houſhold, at the head of a regiment of foot. It was ſaid, that, by the beſt reckoning that could be made at Emont and Fallowfield bridge, the whole of their army did not exceed 7000

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7000 men; that the body of regular horſe was very inconſiderable; that there were not above 30 huſſars, beſides thoſe that marched with the vanguard the day before to Kendal; that their baggage-waggons, which were about twenty in number, were very ſlenderly guarded, ſome of which were drawn by three, and others by two horſes; and that they talked of great numbers to join them from Scotland. The van of their army arrived at Lancaſter on the 24th. Six highland Quartermaſters came into Preſton on the 26th, to provide quarters for their army, which was to rendezvous on Preſtonmuir next day. Some of them were at Warrington, and the main body at Wigan and Leigh on the 28th. That afternoon, a party came into Mancheſter, beat up for voluntiers for the Pretender, inliſted ſeveral Papiſts and nonjurors, offering five guineas a man to any that would enter. Thoſe who took the money, had white cockades given them, and marched about the town with the drum and the Serjeant. This party ordered quarters to be prepared for 10,000 men, who were to come thither the next day. Upon the 29th the main body moved towards Mancheſter. A party of them arrived there at ten before noon. By their order the bellman went round the town, to give notice to all perſons belonging to the exciſe, innkeepers, &c. forthwith to bring their laſt acquittances and rolls, and all the ready caſh they had in their hands belonging to the government, on pain of military execution. About two in the afternoon, another party arrived there, with the Pretender's ſon, who marched on foot, in a highland dreſs, ſurrounded by a body of highlanders. The bellman went round the town again, to order the houſes to be illuminated. They had ſixteen pieces of cannon, great numbers of covered wagons, and near 100 horſes laden. They proclaimed the Pretender in all the market towns they paſſed.

On the night of the 25th, about 200 diſorderly perſons near Ormſkirk, aſſembled in that town with a drum, beating up for voluntiers to enter into the Pretender's ſervice, and openly in the night proclaimed him King The townſpeople thereupon roſe up and fought them, took

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took and imprisoned ten or twelve, and dispersed the rest.

The Duke arrived at Litchfield on the 27th. On the 28th, the troops under his Royal Highness's command, then arrived, were cantoned from Tamworth to Stafford, with the cavalry in front at Newcastle under Line.

Marshal Wade, on hearing the news of the motions of the rebels, called a council of war at Newcastle, in which it was resolved to march the whole army Southward on Sunday the 24th, in pursuit of them. His Excellency with the army were incamped on the 28th at Persbridge, and were to march through Yorkshire into Lancashire.

On the 4th of November arrived in the river, from Flanders, the regiments of foot commanded by Lieutenant General Handasyd, Major General Campbell and Skelton, Brigadier Bligh, Mordaunt, and Lord John Murray.

The Noblemen who commanded the new regiments were these. Horse, the Dukes of Montagu and Kingston. Foot, the Dukes of Bolton, Bedford, Montagu, and Ancaster; the Marquis of Granby; the Earls of Berkeley, Cholmondeley, and Halifax; the Viscounts Falmoutuh and Harcourt; and the Lords Gower, Edgcumbe, and Herbert of Cherbury.

Sir William Yonge, by the King's command, thanked the Lord Mayor and several citizens for their contribution of blankets, watch-coats, and other necessaries for the soldiers. The Quakers, in particular, gave 10,000 woollen waist-coats; and his Majesty out of his privy purse gave them shoes.

About the middle of November we had the following lists in the London papers.

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A list of the Pretender's officers and troops.

Regiments.	*Colonels.*	*Men.*
Lochyel	Cameron of Lochyel	740
Appin	Stewart of Ardshiel	360
Athol	Lord George Murray	1000
Clanronald	Clanronald of Clanronald junior	200
Keppoch	Macdonald of Keppoch	400
Glenco	Macdonald of Glenco	200
Ogilvie	Lord Ogilvie	500
Glenbucket	Gordon of Glenbucket	427
Perth	Duke of Perth (and Pitsligo's foot)	750
Robertson	Robertson of Strowan	200
Maclachlan	Maclachlan of Maclachlan	260
Glencarnick	Macgregor	300
Glengary	Macdonald of Glengary junior	300
Nairn	Lord Nairn	200
Edinburgh	John Roy Stuart (and Lord Kelly's)	450
	In several small corps	1000
	Horse { Lord Elcho / Lord Kilmarnock }	160
	Lord Pitsligo's horse	140
		7587

A list of the forces and Commanders which marched down towards Lancashire.

Sir John Ligonier, Commander in chief under the Duke of Cumberland.

Lieutenant Generals, Richmond and St. Clair.

Major Generals, Skelton and Bland.

Brigadiers, Sempill, Bligh, and Douglas.

Artillery, Leslie, Barnard and Roper, Brigade Majors, 30 pieces of cannon 6 and 3 pounders.

Old foot, Howard, Major General of the foot, Sowle, Johnson, Douglas, Sempill, Bligh, and Skelton.

Bland's dragoons; and 'tis supposed four troops of Ligoiner's horse.

New foot, Gower, Montagu, Halifax, Granby, and Cholmondeley.

New horse, Montagu and Kingston.

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Amounting

Amounting to 8250 foot and 2200 horſe, beſides Cobhams dragoons and three battalions of foot-guards ordered afterwards.

Royal proclamations were iſſued, dated November 7. commanding the 18th of December to be obſerved as a faſt both in England and Scotland, in order to deprecate deſerved judgments, and to implore a bleſſing on his Majeſty's arms, for reſtoring and perpetuating peace, ſafety, and proſperity to theſe kingdoms.

One Gordon a Romiſh Prieſt was taken into cuſtody on the 9th and his papers ſeized; by which it appeared that many thouſand pounds had been tranſmitted through his hands to the rebels. George Lockhart of Carnwath, Eſq; who was taken up at Berwick, was brought to town on the 1ſt. Sir John Cope and Brigadier Fowke arrived the ſame day.

A meſſenger was ſent by the Lords to the Commons on the 6th, deſiring a conference with them next day, at three o'clock, in the Painted Chamber, touching certain treaſonable declarations and printed papers publiſhed and diſperſed about the kingdom, by the pretender, and his eldeſt ſon: and accordingly, next day, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in parliament aſſembled, came to the following reſolutions, *viz.*

1. "That the two printed papers reſpectively ſigned *James R.* and dated at Rome December 23. 1743, and the four printed papers ſigned *Charles P. R.* dated reſpectively May 16. Auguſt 22. and October 9. and 10. 1745, are falſe, ſcandalous, and treaſonable libels; intended to poiſon the minds of his Majeſty's ſubjects; contain the moſt malicious, audacious, and wicked incitments to them to commit the moſt abominable treaſons; groundleſs and infamous calumnies and indignities againſt the government, crown, and ſacred perſon of his Moſt Excellent Majeſty King George II. our only rightful and undoubted ſovereign; and ſeditious and preſumptuous declarations againſt the conſtitution of this united kingdom; repreſenting the high court of parliament, now legally aſſembled, by his Majeſty's authority

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as an unlawful assembly, and all the acts of parliament passed since the late happy revolution, as null and void; and that the said printed papers are full of the utmost arrogance and insolent affronts to the honour of the British nation, in supposing, that his Majesty's subjects are capable of being imposed upon, seduced or terrified, by false and opprobrious invectives, insidious promises, or vain and impotent menaces, or of being deluded to exchange the free enjoyment of their rights and liberties, as well civil as religious, under the well established government of a Protestant prince for Popery and slavery, under a Popish bigoted Pretender, long since excluded by the wisest laws made to secure our excellent constitution, and abjured by the most solemn oaths.

2. "That, in abhorrence and detestation of such vile and treasonable practices, the said several printed papers be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, at the Royal Exchange in London, on Tuesday the 12th day of this instant November, at one of the clock in the afternoon; and that the Sherriffs of London do then attend, and cause the same to be burnt there accordingly. ——The papers were burnt, agreeably to this resolution, amidst, the repeated acclamations of a prodigious number of people.

The motions of the several armies, according to the the *London Gazette*, were as follows.

On the 29th of November, the main body of the rebels arrived at Manchester. Next day, about 200 of them came to a pass three miles from that town, leading to Knotsford, and, having made a sort of bridge over the river, by filling it with trees, advanced to Altringham. The same day, 55 crossed the river at Glate ford, to Cheadle, two miles from Stockport, and returned directly after to Manchester by Sheadle ford. In the afternoon, 19 of them crossed the ford at Stockport, staid their about half an hour, gave out that they would bring a large body of forces to Stockport that night, and that they had inlisted great numbers of men at Manchester; to which place they returned. The same day, 200 of them were at Warrington; two of whom,

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whom, who had croſſed the river, were ſeized by the Liverpool ſoldiers, hand-cuffed, and ſent to Cheſter.

Several parties of the rebels croſſed the Merſey at different places upon the 30th at night, and early in the morning of the 1ſt of December, and marched by different routs towards Macclesfield. The horſe and artillery paſſed at Cheaple ford. The bridges were made of trees (chiefly poplars) felled for that purpoſe, and planks laid acroſs; and all the country-people that could be found, were compelled to aſſiſt them in it. They preſſed, or rather took away all the horſes they could meet with about Manchester, before they croſſed the Merſey, and obliged ſeveral Gentlemen who had ſent their horſes out of the way, to ſend for them back. By break of day, upon the 1ſt, a party of horſe came to Altringham, beſpoke quarters for a body of foot, (which arrived there about ten), and then ſet out for Maclesfield with a guide. The party which lay at Altringham were very ſolicitous to know what number of the King's forces there was at Knotsford. At eleven o'clock about 100 horſe came into Macclesfield, and ordered the bellman to prepare quarters for 5000 men; who came in there about two o'clock, with the artillery, and the Pretender's ſon; who lay there that night. The vanguard, which conſiſted of about 200 men, and which had orders to be in readineſs to march at eleven at night, was quartered at Broken Croſs on the Congleton ſide of Macclesfield. All that evening they were very buſy ſcaling their pieces, firing them, and putting them into order. They gave out that they would call at Knotsford; and that they did not, ſeems to be owing to their having heard, that there were 2000 of the King's troops in that place. In the middle of the night 40 of them were at Backley hill in purſuit of two deſerters.

The party which lay at Altringham, marched early on the ſecond towards Macclesfield; from which place about 2000 foot paſſed by Gawſworth at ten. 2000 horſe and foot came into Congleton between three and four in the afternoon. About 30 were detached to Aſhbury, two or three miles on the Newcaſtle ſide of Con-

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gleton. Their horſes were very ſmall, lean, and of different colours.

On the 3d, a party of the rebels were at Aſhburn, fifteen miles from Derby, and the remainder at Leek. The former demanded billets for 3000 men.

Early in the morning of the 4th, the rebels marched from Aſhburn for Derby. They appeared to be a good deal fatigued, their march the Day before having been a very great one. About noon the Pretender's ſon entered Derby, with 450 horſe and 2300 foot. The army continued going into that town till late at night. They marched in ſuch a manner as to make their numbers appear as great as poſſible, and to render it extremely difficult to take an exact account of them. They gave out that they would march on the 5th to Lieceſter; but they continued at Derby all that day, with there artillery in the market place. Some of them talked as if they would make a ſudden march in order to ſlip the Duke of Cumberland's army; whilſt others ſaid, that they would ſee whether the Duke would come and give them battle. They levied the exciſe here.

The Duke's army were cantoned, on the 28th of November, from Tamworth to Stafford, with the cavalry in front at Newcaſtle under Line. On the 2d of December, the Duke, then at Stafford, received advice from Newcaſtle, that a large body of the rebels were at Congleton, within nine miles of that place; and that their whole army, with all their artillery and baggage, was to be there that night. His Royal Highneſs had before ordered the cavalry at Newcaſtle to be alert, and two battalions of infantry, which were likewiſe poſted there, to retire to Stone, ſix miles nearer Stafford, in caſe of the enemy's approach. About eleven o'clock of the 2d, the Duke, with the three battalions of guards, marched from Stafford for Stone; at which place the army, conſiſting of eleven old battalions of foot, and ſix regiments of horſe and drogoons, were aſſembled at four next morning. Upon poſitive advices of the rebels marching by Congleton towards North-Wales, the Duke's vanguard made a motion towards Newcaſtle.

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Newcaſtle. But, upon receiving other advices, that the rebels were gone for Leek and Aſhburn, it was reſolved to march the army as ſoon as poſſible to Northampton, in order to intercept them in their march towards the South. Accordingly the Duke's army returned to Stafford on the 4th, and to Litchfield on the 5th. Here receiving advice, that the rebels had taken poſſeſſion of Swarkſton bridge (*but they did not come within a mile of it*) before the orders for breaking it down could be put in execution, it was reſolved to incamp the 6th on Meriden common, between Coleſhill and Coventry, and next day near Northampton; by which means the army would be again before the rebels. The men, who had been a good deal haraſſed, bore the fatigue with great chearfulneſs, and ſeemed to have no other wiſh than to come to an engagement with the rebels. Purſuant to this reſolution, the whole cavalry, with two battalions of foot, marched into Coventry on the 6th, and the reſt of the infantry incamped on Meriden common. The flannel waiſtcoats for the troops were by this time arrived at Coventry.

The army under the command of Marſhal Wade were, incamped at Perſbridge one the 28th of November. The next accounts of them were of the 5th of December. They were then incamped at Wetherby. Here receiving advice of the march of the rebels into Derbyſhire, the Marſhal directed the cavalry to begin their march towards Doncaſter on the 5th, however, they ſtaid at Wetherby, to receive their bread from Leeds, and their ſhoes, ſtockings, and flannel waiſtcoats from London; which came to them at that place. The whole army were to be at Doncaſter on the 7th.

Early on the 6th, ſeveral parties of the highland horſe were in motion in the road about Derby. Some of them ſeemed to be moving towards Loughborough; others kept on the Aſhburn ſide. At ten the whole returned to Derby, and then the army ſet out for Aſhburn. The horſe moved firſt; ſoon after paſſed their artillery, conſiſting of thirteen pieces of cannon; and then their main body of foot. When about a mile from Der-

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by, they halted, and sent eleven or twelve officers back thither. These ordered a great sum of money to be raised instantly for the use of their army: which they carried off with them, and threatened destruction to the whole town if they did not raise more. They seemed to be extremely out of humour, and stripped some persons of their cloaths, &c.

Letters from Derby, dated December 8. said, that the rebels behaved tolerably well in their march Southwards, but plundered the country in their retreat; that many of the best houses there had suffered; that two of the rebels were taken with their arms between Ashburn and Derby, by a farmer and two boys, and sent to the camp at Meriden common; that tho' they demanded billets at Derby for 10,000 men, those who computed their numbers as exactly as possible assured that they did not exceed 6300, horse and foot, including many old men, and boys of fifteen or sixteen years of age, without shoes or stockings; and that their horses were extremely jaded, and in a bad condition.

From Ashburn they marched to Leek on the 7th. It was then thought their route was for Wales. Before they left Ashburn, they shot two men, one of whom died on the spot. They took all the horses they could lay their hands on, and plundered and did great damage. They had here fifteen pieces of cannon and one mortar. On the 8th they marched to Macclesfield. Their vanguard reached Manchester that day. Some small parties of them raised alarms at Newcastle.

The Duke's army, as above observed, incamped on Meriden common; and were to have marched thence to Northampton. But several concurrent accounts arriving at the camp on the 6th, with advice that the rebels left Derby that morning, and marched towards Ashburn, his Royal Highness, on the 8th, put himself at the head of all the horse and dragoons, and 1000 voluntiers, to endeavour to stop them, and give the foot time to come up. Next morning, Sir John Ligonier, with the brigade of guards and Sempill's regiment, marched from Meriden for Litchfield; where his Royal Highness was

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that day, with all the cavalry, and a body of foot mounted, preparing to continue his march in purſuit of the rebels.

The horſe and dragoons of Marſhal Wade's army were in Doncaſter on the 8th, and the foot at Ferrybridge.

Mean time the rebels continued their march Northwards. They were at Mancheſter on the 9th. Next morning their foot and baggage paſſed by Pendleton Pole, a mile from Mancheſter, and took the road to Leigh, Wigan, and Preſton. Their horſe followed the ſame day. On the 11th they came to Preſton, and halted there the 12th.

Late on the 10th, the Duke, with two regiments of dragoons, arrived at Macclesfield, having marched thither from Litchfield in two days, thro' terrible roads (*by Uttoxter and Cheadle*). The 1000 foot were but an hour's march behind, (*having been provided of horſes by the Gentlemen of Staffordſhire*), and the Duke of Richmond was expected next evening with the remainder of the cavalry. On the arrival of the Duke's advanced guard with the Quartermaſters at Macclesfield, the rebels had quitted Mancheſter with the utmoſt hurry and confuſion, and gone towards Wigan. His Royal Highneſs ſent an order by expreſs to the magiſtrates of Mancheſter, to enjoin them to ſeize all ſtragglers of the rebel army, or ſuch as had abetted them, and to keep them in cuſtody till further orders; and early on the 11th he ſent on Major Wheatly with a body of dragoons. Orders were ſent on the tenth at night to Eligh's battalion (*then at Cheſter*) to march to Macclesfield, and to the Liverpool battalion to take poſt at Warrington. The greateſt zeal and affection were expreſſed upon the arrival of the King's troops in theſe parts. Excepting at Mancheſter, where the rebels were joined by about 60 perſons, they met with no ſucceſs in their expedition. Fifteen or ſixteen ſtragglers were picked up about this time, and ſent to different jails.

In a council of war, held by Marſhal Wade at Ferrybridge on the 8th, it was reſolved, that the army ſhould march

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march by the way of Wakefield and Halifax into Lancashire, in order to intercept the return of the rebels Northwards. But, upon their arrival at the first mentioned place upon the 10th at night, advice having been received, that the main body of the rebels was then at Manchester and their advanced guard went towards Wigan, on their way to Preston, by which they got three or four days march of the Marshal's army, it was resolved to send Major General Oglethorpe with a detachment of cavalry to pursue them, with all possible expedition, and to march the rest of the army towards Newcastle, both to begin their march on the 11th.

The Duke received intelligence at Macclesfield on the 12th, that General Oglethorpe with his cavalry would be that day at Wigan; and being at the same time informed, by several advices from Lancashire, that the rebels were continuing their flight in the utmost disorder and confusion, and with such a panick, that many of them threw away their arms upon the road, his Royal Highness thereupon resolved to pursue them with all possible expedition. He proposed to be at Wigan with his whole cavalry on the 13th; and hoped, as the rebels had been forced to halt the 12th at Preston, to be able to come up with them in two or three days march. There were letters which mentioned, that for three days about that time the country-people had some smart skirmishes with the rebels, and destroyed several of them.

At nine o'clock of the 13th, the rebels marched out of Preston for Lancaster. The same day the Duke of Perth, with about 150 horse, left the army at the place last mentioned, and took the road towards Carlisle, giving out that he was going to fetch a reinforcement. Notice thereof was sent to all the towns thro' which he passed, and it was hoped the country-people would intercept him. About 20 rebel straggglers were picked up in different places.

The Duke arrived at Wigan from Macclesfield on the 13th at night.

At one o'clock of the 13th the Georgia rangers entered Preston, (the rebels having been gone about four hours

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hours before), and soon after a Party of the Duke of Kingston's horse, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Mordaunt, and the Captains Lord Robert Manners and Lord Byron. The same day General Oglethorpe entered that town likewise, with a detachment from the Duke of Montagu's and Marshal Wade's regiments of horse, commanded by Major Otway, and St. George's regiment of dragoons, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Arabin. These troops marched from Doncaster without a halt, and in three days made above 100 measured miles over snow and ice. They took a Captain of the rebel-army, named Mackenzie, and two men prisoners. As soon as General Oglethorpe arrived, he detached the rangers after the rebels; and next morning, the 14th, was himself at Garstang, with his cavalry; intending to advance that night with his whole corps, so as to post his regulars on Elhib muir, which begins about three miles South of Lancaster, and extends beyond that town Northward, and to detach his irregulars in small patroles, supported by parties of the regulars, with orders to attack any patroles of the rebels which they might fall in with. If the rebels marched off, General Oglethorpe was to pursue them, and fall upon their rear; giving notice immediately to Major Wheatly, who was posted at Garston with a considerable body of dragoons to support him, and the Major was to be supported by the troops from Preston. The Liverpool companies were ordered to march from Warrington, and were to arrive at Preston on the 16th.

On the 14th, at eight at night, the rebels began to march out of Lancaster in a very great hurry. The baggage preceeded. They were marching out in different bodies all night. The last of them left the town at eight in the morning of the 15th. They took the road to Kendal.

General Oglethorpe hereupon got orders to push beyond Lancaster. The Duke with the whole corps, proposed to be there and Brigadier Bligh at Preston on the 16th. Lord Sempill, with the two regiments, of Scots fusileers, was to follow with the utmost expedition.

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Some prisoners made the number of the rebels amount to 8000, including women and boys; and said, that amongst them there were about 2000 clans, well armed, with guns and broad swords; that the rest consisted chiefly of Athol-men and lowlanders, and were but indifferently armed; that they had fifteen pieces of cannon of three or four pounders; that one Sullivan formerly in the French service, had the charge of their artillery; that from their first entring England, till they came to Derby, they seemed resolved upon marching directly to London; but that at Derby, having heard how the Duke of Cumberland's army was posted, it was resolved in a council of war, to return by Carlisle into Scotland; that there was a person with them, who stiled himself the French Ambassador; and that great numbers of the men had often declared, that, if they could get back into Scotland, they would leave the army, and return to their respective abodes.

In obedience to a letter sent by the Duke to the Deputy-Lieutenants of Westmoreland and Cumberland, requiring them by all means, to retard and obstruct the march of the rebels through those two counties, a resolution was taken at Appleby on the 14th, to raise part of the country, in order to demolish Wastal bridge, to make the road from Kendal to Shap impassable for the rebels Artillery or any wheel-carriages, and to break up the road down Graridge-hawse; whereby it was hoped their march might be so retarded, as to give time to the Duke's army to come up with them before they could get clear of those counties.

About ten o'clock on the 14th, the van guard of the rebels, consisting of 110 horsemen, equipped and accoutred like hussars, among whom was the Duke of Perth, entered Kendal, with a chaise, in which was a person in women's dress. They rode up the town quietly, and turned through the fishmarket, down to the bridge leading to Penrith. When they were almost got out of the town, a gun was fired out of a house, and one of the rebels killed: whereupon the townspeople closed in, and took two more prisoners. The rest gal-

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loped on towards the bridge; where a halt was made on a ſudden, and a few muſkets diſcharged at the people; by which an hoſtler and a ſhoe maker were killed on the ſpot. They then made a general volley, but without doing any more miſchief, and after that purſued their way as faſt as they could towards Shap. Their horſes ſeemed to be very much harraſſed and jaded.

After dinner on the 15th, a party of the rebel horſe came into Kendal, amongſt whom was their commiſſary. An hour after they were followed by the reſt, horſe and foot, who continued coming in till after it was dark. Their artillery, conſiſting of twelve or thirteen ſmall pieces, was about the middle of the corps, with ſeveral covered carts.

The Duke of Perth after the ſcuffle at Kendal, proceeded on to Shap, and intended for Penrith. But ſeeing the beacons on fire, and hearing this was done to call in the country, he ſent a ſmall party to the Round Table, which is a Mile South of Penrith, and five from Shap, to make inquiry; and finding it true, he returned for ſafety to Kendal about two in the morning of the 16th. Between four and five the drums began to beat, and the men marched out from day-break till near ten, in the ſame order as they entered, Lord George Murray being with the laſt company; but not being able to reach Penrith, as they intended, they were forced to lie at Shap. On the night of the 15th miſchief was apprehended at Kendal; but the magiſtrates pacified the heads of the rebels in ſome meaſure. Next morning, however, after the alarm, they behaved very rudely, and exacted a ſum of money. The laſt of them plundered ſome houſes for liquors, ſtripped thoſe they met of their ſhoes, and attempted to fire a houſe.

On the 17th, the Duke was at Lancaſter. General Oglethorpe, with the avant-guard, was to be that day at Shap, and the reſt of his Royal Highneſs's forces were to reſt that night at Kendal.

General Anſtruther was ordered to ſet out from Coventry for London on the 15th, with the firſt diviſion of the

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the foot, consisting of Sowle's and Skelton's regiments; and the other regiments were to follow successively.

Marshal Wade was on the 15th at Rippon. It was resolved to march his army, then incamped at Boroughbridge, in several divisions, by reason of the inclemency of the Season and to put them under cover every night, till they should arrive at or near Newcastle. In pursuance of which, 1000 detached English foot were to march upon the 15th by Northallerton, Darlington and Durham, to Newcastle; and were to be followed successively by the rest of the army.

Mean time the Duke continued to pursue the rebels with all expedition. He came up with them on the 18th at night with his cavalry, after a ten hours march, to the North of Loutherhall; which the rebels abandoned on the approach of the King's troops, and threw themselves into a village called Clifton, within three miles of Penrith; which village his Royal Highness immediately attacked with the dragoons dismounted; who behaved extremely well, and drove the rebels out of it in an hour's time, tho' a very strong and defensible post. By the first account of this action, dated in the morning of the 19th, it was said, that the loss of the rebels could not be known, as it was quite dark before the skirmish was over; that that of the King's forces amounted to about 40 men killed and wounded, but not mortally, *viz.* Colonel Honeywood, Captain East, and the Cornets Owen and Hamilton; and that a Captain of the rebels, Hamilton, was taken prisoner, much wounded. Next account, dated at Penrith on the 20th, said, that the rebels having carried off their killed and wounded, it was not possible to ascertain their loss; that, after the affair, 70 of their people were taken prisoners; that of the King's forces, his Majesty's own regiment of dragoons suffered most, some officers of which being wounded, the rebels cried, *No quarter; murder them;* and that they received several wounds after they were down. A third account, dated at Penrith on the 23d, says, that the main body of the rebels was in that town on the 18th, when their rear guard, which consisted

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listed of about 1000 of their best men, were driven out of Clifton by about 300 dismounted dragoons, 12 of whom were killed and 24 wounded. After the action, the rebels retired to four miles distance.

As soon as this news reached Penrith, orders were given by the rebels to prepare for a march forthwith; and about eight that evening they set out thence, and continued marching all night towards Carlisle; where they arrived at nine next day, the 19th. It was so dark, and the country so covered, that it was not possible to pursue them that night; and the troops being fatigued with the forced marches they had made thro' very bad roads, they halted at Penrith on the 19th; where they were joined by the greatest part of the foot that night, and by the remainder next morning. The highlanders were guilty of great excesses at Penrith. They broke open several houses and shops, took away great quantities of goods, and threw into the streets, and spoilt or destroyed what they could not carry off.

St. George's dragoons came to Penrith on the 19th in the morning, and marched on to Hesket, eight miles from Carlisle; where they continued all that night and next day. The Duke, with the rest of the army, halted the 20th at Penrith.

Marshal Wade arrived at Newcastle on the 20th, and gave orders for the immediate march of 1000 foot and 50 horse to join the Duke in the neighbourhood of Carlisle. Those troops marched accordingly from Newcastle on the 21st, and were to be next night at Haltwesel.

On the 20th the rebels pursued their march Northward from Carlisle, having staid there but one night, to change the garrison. They left all their cannon there excepting three pieces. Sixteen carts laden with their tents, were taken by Major General Bland.

At four in the morning of the 21st, the army marched from Penrith in three columns towards Carlisle; the Duke with the infantry, making the centre, along the post-road, and the horse and dragoons in two columns, one on his right by Armathwate, and the other on his left

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left by Hutton-hall. Upon the march, his Royal Highneſs received the news of the rebels having quitted Carliſle, and left in it only 3 or 400 men; who according to the beſt intelligence, conſiſted chiefly of their Engliſh recruits, and Gordon of Glenbucket's men, commanded by one Hamilton. The Duke's army joined on Carlton muir. About noon they came in ſight of Carliſle; and Major Gneral Bland inveſted it on the Scots ſide with St. George's drgoons and 300 men of Bligh's regiment, with orders to prevent any paſſage over the bridge upon the Eden, which leads directly to the Scots gate. Major Adams was poſted with 200 foot in the ſuburbs of the Engliſh gate, to prevent any of the garriſon's eſcaping that way; Major Meriac at the Iriſh gate with the ſame orders, and Sir Andrew Agnew at the ſally-port with 300. All the horſe, and the foot-guards, were cantoned round the town, at a mile or two diſtance. The garriſon made a ſhew of intending to defend the place, firing their cannon upon every body who appeared in ſight of it.

The Duke ſent for a train of battering cannon from Whitehaven, and it had orders to move with the whole *poſſe commitatus*, which was to aſſemble at Wigton on the 21ſt. This train was expected at the army in a day or two; and it was propoſed to have a battery erected by the morning of the 24th; by which it was not doubted but the Duke would be maſter of the town in twenty four hours. Only four pieces of cannon, however, having arrived by the 24th, the erecting of the battery was deferred. Next day ſix more pieces of cannon arrived. Mean time the garriſon fired almoſt inceſſantly. But on the 28th at noon, the beſiegers began to batter the four-gun battery of the town with ſix eighteen pounders. On the 29th it was found neceſſary to abate firing for want of ſhot, till towards evening; when a freſh ſupply arriving, it was renewed very briſkly for two hours, which ſhook the walls very much.

That evening a fellow attempting to get out of the town, was taken by one of the advanced parties, and brought to the Duke. He delivered two letters; one for

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for his Royal Highneſs; the other for the commander of the Dutch troops, ſuppoſed to be with his army. They were from a perſon ſtiling himſelf *Commander of the French artillery, and of the French garriſon that was at, or might come to Carliſle, for the defence of the town and citadel,* and who ſubſcribed his name *De Geoghegan.* The contents of them were, to ſummon the commander of the Dutch to retire with his troops from the Engliſh army, under pretence of the capitulation of Tournay.

The night of the 29th was ſpent in raiſing a new battery of three 18 pounders; which was completed by the morning. But, on the firſt platoon of the old battery firing, the rebels hung out the white flag; whereupon the battery ceaſed; and they called over the walls, that they had two hoſtages ready to be delivered up at the Engliſh gate, which is on the oppoſite ſide of the town. His Royal Highneſs then ordered Colonel Conway and Lord Bury to go and deliver the two following meſſages in writing, to be ſigned by Colonel Conway; the ſecond meſſage being deſigned as an anſwer to the perſon's letter who called himſelf a Frenchman.

1. HIS Royal Highneſs will make no exchange of hoſtages with rebels; and deſires they will let him know by me, what they mean by hanging out the white flag.

2. To let the French officer know, if there be one in the town, that there are no Dutch troops here, but enough of the King's to chaſtiſe the rebels, and thoſe who dare to give them aſſiſtance.

Signed, COL. CONWAY,
Aid de Camp to his R. Higneſs the Duke.

In about two hours they returned, and brought a paper written as follows.

IN anſwer to the ſhort note ſent by his Royal Highneſs Prince William Duke of Cumberland, the Governor, in name of himſelf, and all the officers and ſoldiers, gunners and others belonging to the garriſon, deſire to know

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know what terms his Royal Highneſs will be pleaſed to give them, upon ſurrender of the city and caſtle of Carliſle; and which known, his Royal Highneſs ſhall be duly acquainted with the Governor and garriſon's laſt and ultimate reſolution; the white flag being hung out on purpoſe to obtain a ceſſation of arms for concluding ſuch a capitulation. This is to be given to his Royal Highneſs's Aid de Camp.

Signed, JOHN HAMILTON.

Whereupon they were ſent back with the terms, ſigned by the Duke of Richmond, by order of his Royal Highneſs, as containued in the following declaration.

ALL the terms his Royal Highneſs will or can grant to the rebel garriſon of Carliſle, are, That they ſhall not be put to the ſword, but be reſerved for the King's pleaſure.

If they conſent to theſe conditions, the Governor and principal officers are to deliver themſelves up immediately; and the caſtle, citadel, and all the gates of the town, are to be taken poſſeſſion of forthwith by the King's troops. All the ſmall arms are to be lodged in the town guard-room; and the reſt of the garriſon are to retire to the cathedral; where a guard is to be placed over them. No damage is to be done to the artillery, arms, or ammunition. *Head-quarters at Blackhall, December* 30. *half an hour paſt two in the afternoon.*

By his Royal Highneſs's command,

Signed, RICHMOND, LENOX, *and* AUBIGNY, *Lieutenant-General of his Majeſty's forces.*

About four they brought the following paper, ſigned alſo by *John Hamilton.*

THE Governor of Carliſle, and haill officers compoſing the garriſon, agree to the terms of capitulation given in and ſubſcribed, by order of his Royal Highneſs, by his Grace the Duke of *Richmond*, *Lenox*, and *Aubigny*, Lieutenant-General of his Majeſty's forces; recommending themſelves to his Royal Higneſs's clemency, and that his Royal Highneſs will be pleaſed to interpoſe for them with his Majeſty; and that the officers,

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ficers cloaths and baggage may be safe, with a competent time to be allowed to the citizens of Carlisle to remove their beds, bed-cloaths, and other houshold-furniture impressed from them for the use of the garrison in the castle. *The 30th of December 1745, at three o'clock in the afternoon.*

On which Brigadier Bligh was ordered immediately to take possession of the town, and to have there that night 400 foot-guards, and 700 marching foot, with 120 horse to patrole in the streets. The Duke was to enter the next day.

The following is an account of the rebel officers and soldiers, together with their artillery, taken in this place, *viz.*

ENGLISH. 1 Colonel, Francis, Townly, of Lancashire.——5 Captains. John Saunderson, of Northumberland; Peter Moss, James Dawson, and George Fletcher, all of Lancashire; and Andrew Blood, of Yorkshire.——6 Lieutenants: Thomas Deacon, John Berwick, Robert Deacon. and John Holker, all of Lancashire; Thomas Chadwick of Staffordshire; and Thomas Furnival of Cheshire.——7 Ensigns: Charles Deacon, and Charles Gaylor, both of Lancashire; John Hurter, of Northumberland; James Wilding, John Betts, and William Bradshaw, all of Lancashire; and Samuel Maddock, of Cheshire.——1 Adjutant, Thomas Seddell, of Lancashire.—— All of the Manchester regiment. 93 non-commission officers drummers, and private men.——James Cappock, of Lancashire, made by the Pretender Bishop of Carlisle.

SCOTS. The Governor, John Hamilton, Aberdeenshire.——6 Captains: Robert Forbes, Aberdeenshire, of Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment; John Burnet, Aberdeenshire, of Colonel Grant's; George Abernethy, Banffshire, of Lord Ogilvy's; Alexander Abernethy, Banffshire of the Duke of Perth's; Donald Macdonald, Invernesshire, of Keppoch's, and John Comerie, Braes of Athol, of the Duke of Athol's.——7 Lieutenants: Charles Gordon, Aberdeenshire, of Lord Ogilvy's regiment;

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ment; James Gordon, Aberdeenſhire, of Colonel Grant's; Walter Ogilvy, Banffſhire, of Lord Lewis Gordon's; William Stuart, Banffſhire, of Colonel Roy Stuarts; two Alexander Macgrouthers, Perthſhire, and James Nicholſon, all of the Duke of Perth's. The laſt broke the capitulation by endeavouring to make his eſcape.——3 Enſigns; Walter Mitchel, and George Ramſay, both of Aberdeenſhire, and of the Duke of Perth's regiment; and James Menzies, St. German's, France, of Colonel Roy Stuart's.—1 Surgeon, James Stratton, Berwickſhire.—256 non-commiſſion officers, drummers, and private men.

FRENCH. Sir Francis Geoghegan, a Captain of Lally's Regiment; Colonel Strickland, of no regiment; and Sir John Arbuthnot, a Captain of Lord John Drummond's; all of Thouloufe.—1 Serjeant, Pierre la Locke, of Dieppe, of Lally's regiment.——4 private men, all of Lally's regiment: Francis Carpenter, of Dieppe; Pierre Bourgogne, of Tourrat; Jean Pouſſin, and Pierre Vickman, both of Dieppe.

ARTILLERY; 6 one and half pounder braſs guns, 1 braſs octagon, 3 braſs four pounder guns, all with carriages, 4 braſs coehorns, and 2 royals.

Mean while the rebel army continued their retreat Northward. They paſſed the Eſk on the 20th, and then divided. One body, computed at about 4000, quartered that night at Annan; and another body, of about 2000, at Ecclefechan. Lord Elcho, with about 4 or 500, proceeded from Annan to Dumfries; and the reſt followed next day. Thoſe of Ecclefechan took the route of Moffat. The young Pretender, the French Ambaſſador, the Duke of Perth, Lord Elcho, Lord, Pitſligo, Lochiel, Clanronald, Glengary, and Keppoch, went by Dumfries; Lord Tullibardine, Lord George Murray, Lords Ogilvy and Nairn, by Moffat. On the morning of the 23d, the body at Dumfries marched thence; and the Pretender's ſon propoſed to lodge that night at Drumlanrig. The rebels ſhot a tenant of the Duke of Queenſberry's, for running out of their way, and not returning quickly enough at their call. They

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levied the excise at Dumfries, and intimated, that if either excise or land tax was paid for the future to any other than them, the people might be sure of paying them over again double. They imposed a contribution on that town, of 2000 l. in money and 1000 pairs of shoes; seized about nine casks of gun-powder, all the arms publick and private, horse-furniture, boots, *&c.* every horse that could be found in town and country, and took free quarters. Near 1100 l. of the money was paid; and Provost Crosbie and Mr. Walter Riddel were carried off as hostages, till the remainder should be remitted. They ordered the townspeople to send their baggage after them; and at the same time assured, that if they heard that a finger was moved against any one of their straglers, the hostages would instantly be put to death. They were guilty of great outrages, having robbed and plundered several houses; and they told the people, they had reason to think themselves gently used, that their town was not laid in ashes. The damage done in the town cannot be repaired for 4000 l. but that done in the country is much greater.

The van of the rebel-army entered Glasgow on the 25th; and the main body, with the Pretender's son, next evening. They made great demands on that city, as a punishment for having armed and raised a regiment against their leader.

A subscription was oppened at Guildhall on the 27th of November, by the Lord Mayor and others, for relief of the soldiers employed during the winter-season towards suppressing the rebellion. The managing committee, by order of a general meeting of the subscribers, desired the opinion of the Duke of Cumberland and Marshal Wade, how the money might be best applied; and, by their approbation, contracted, on the 23d of December, for 12,000 pair of breeches, 12,000 shirts, 10,000 woolen caps, 10,000 pair of woolen stockings, 1000 blankets, 12,000 pair of knit woolen gloves, and 9000 pair of woollen spatterdashes, to be forthwith provided for the use of the army. It was also resolved, that 5000 l. should be set appart for the rewarding of maimed

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maimed or wounded ſoldiers, and 300 l. applied as Marſhal Wade ſhould direct, for the more ſpeedy recovery of the ſick ſoldiers under his command, in augmentation of the allowance granted by the crown. To this fund 1000 l. has been ſubſcribed out of the chamber of London, 1200 l. by the Lord chief Juſtice Lee, the Maſter of the Rolls, and the Judges, 500 l. by the Civilians at Doctors Commons, 523 l. 19 s. by the Gentlemen voluntiers, 500 l. by the goldſmiths company, 300 l. each by the drappers and fiſhmongers, 212 l. 14 s. by the clothworkers, 105 l. by the ſkinners, 100 l. each by the coopers and ſtationers, and 600 l. by Mr. Rich, being the amount of three nights acting the *Beggars opera*.

On the 1ſt of December arrived in the Thames from Williamſtadt, the two remaining troops of Lieutenant General Sir John Ligonier's regiment of horſe, Lieutenant General Hawley's, and the remains of Lieutenant General Sir Robert Rich's regiment of dragoons.

Several Gentlemen of the Law formed themſelves into a regiment, under the command of the Lord Chief Juſtice Willes, for the defence of the Royal family, in ſuch manner as his Majeſty ſhould think proper, within the cities of London and Weſtminſter, they were denominated, *The aſſociated regiment of the law, for the defence of the Royal family, and the preſervation of the conſtitution in church and ſtate*.

On the 8th at night, ſeveral treaſonable printed papers, called the Pretender's declaration, were dropt on the parade in St. James's park, and put under the doors of people's houſes.

It being apprehended that the rebels were coming forward from Derby for London, and that the Duke would not be able to come up with them, it was reſolved to form a camp on Finchley common; for which purpoſe, the guards, Lord John Murray's (the old highland) regiment, &c. marched on the 7th to Highgate, Enfield, and Barnet; and a large train of artillery was ſent from the tower. The ſame day, the lieutenancy of London directed, that two regiments of the trained

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bands

bands ſhould be out every night, and one in the day time. But, upon the news of the rebels retreat, the orders given the troops were countermanded, the artillery returned, the day duty of the trained bands was diſcontinued, and one regiment only ordered out at night.

The following proclamation was iſſued, of date December 6. *for putting the laws in execution againſt Jeſuits and Popiſh Prieſts, and promiſing a reward for apprehending them within London, Weſtminſter, the borough of Southwark, or within ten miles of the ſaid cities of London and Weſtminſter.*

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS, by an act of parliament made in the 27th year of Queen Elizabeth, it is enacted, That it ſhall not be lawful for any Jeſuit or Popiſh Prieſt, born within this realm, or any other our dominions, to come into, or be or remain in any part thereof, under the penalty of being guilty of high treaſon, in caſe he ſhall not, within three days after he ſhall come into this realm, ſubmit himſelf to ſome biſhop of this realm, or to ſome Juſtice of the Peace, and to take the oaths; and every perſon, who ſhall wittingly and willingy receive or maintain ſuch Jeſuit or Popiſh Prieſt, ſhall be guilty of felony without benefit of clergy; and, by the ſame act, it is further enacted, That, if any ſubject ſhall know that any ſuch Prieſt is within the realm, and not diſcover him unto ſome Juſtice of Peace, or other higher officer, within twelve days next after his ſaid knowledge, but willingly conceal his knowledge therein, then every ſuch offender ſhall be fined and impriſoned at the Queen's pleaſure: and whereas it is, by an act of the 3d year of King James I. enacted, That, if any perſon ſhall put in practice, to abſolve, perſuade or withdraw any of the ſubjects of his Majeſty, his heirs or ſucceſſors, from his natural obedience of his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, or to reconcile them to the Pope or ſee of Rome, or to move them to promiſe obedience to any pretended authority of the ſee of Rome, or to any other prince, ſtate or potentate; then every ſuch perſon, their procurers,

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curers, counſellors, aiders and maintainers, knowing the ſame, ſhall be adjudged traitors, and ſuffer as ſuch; or if any perſon ſhall, by any means, be willingly withdrawn, or promiſe obedience as aforeſaid, ſuch perſon is thereby made guilty of high treaſon: and whereas it is notorious, that great numbers of ſuch Jeſuits and Popiſh Prieſts, taking advantage of the lenity of our government, in not putting the ſaid laws, and other laws againſt Papiſts, into ſtrict execution, have of late come into or continued in this our kingdom, exerciſing their functions, and have perverted, or attempted to pervert many of our ſubjects from the Proteſtant religion and their allegiance: and whereas, at this time of open rebellion in favour of a Popiſh pretender to our crown, all ſuch Jeſuits and Popiſh Prieſts are more particularly dangerous to the peace and ſecurity of this realm, and it is neceſſary that the ſaid law ſhould be put in effectual execution againſt them, and more eſpecially that they ſhould be ſuffered to come into, or remain in or near to our cities of London or Weſtminſter: and whereas, by our Royal proclamation given at our court at Kenſington the 5th day of September laſt, we did ſtrictly charge and command all Papiſts and reputed Papiſts (except as therein is excepted) on or before Thurſday the 19th day of September laſt, to depart out of the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and borough of Southwark, and from all places within ten miles diſtance from the ſame: and whereas we have received information, that notwithſtanding the ſaid laws and proclamation, many Jeſuits and Popiſh Prieſts are ſo daring as ſtill to continue and reſide within the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and borough of Southwark, and within ten miles of the ſame; we, for the better diſcovering and apprehending of ſuch Jeſuits and Popiſh Prieſts do by this our Royal proclamation, by and with the advice of our privy council, ſtrictly charge and command all our Judges, Juſtices of the Peace, magiſtrates, officers, and other our loyal ſubjects, that they do uſe their utmoſt care and endeavour to diſcover, apprehend, and bring to trial, all Jeſuits and Popiſh Prieſts, except ſuch Popiſh Prieſts, not

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not being our natural-born subjects, as, by the law of this our realm, are permitted to attend foreign Ministers. And, for the greater encouragement to our loyal subjects in the discovering, apprehending, and bringing to justice such Jesuits and Popish Priests, we are graciously pleased to promise to him, her or them, who shall discover apprehend, or cause to be apprehended, any such Jesuit or Popish Priest, who shall be found after Monday the 9th day of this instant December, in the cities of London or Westminster, or the borough of Southwark, or within ten miles of the said cities, the sum of one hundred pounds for every such Priest; which shall be immediately paid upon conviction, by our High Treasurer, or Commissioners of our Treasury for the time being. And in case there shall be any doubt, who or what person or persons shall be intitled to such reward, and in what proportion, the same shall be settled by the certificate of the judge or judges who shall try the said offence.

On the 12th, Francis Archangle Montford, an Irish Popish Priest, was committed to Newgate, for remaining in London after the time perscribed by the above proclamation; as was also Pierce Fitzgerald, for entertaining him and other Priests.

By a vessel arrived at Dover on the 12th, advice was received, that an imbarkation of troops was carrying on with great expedition at Dunkirk; that most of the vessels to be employed were already there; and that furniture was put on board them for 1000 horses. The following proclamation, dated the 12th, was published in a day or two thereafter.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS we have received intelligence, that preparations are making by our enemies to invade this our kingdom, the safety and defence of which require our utmost care, and wherein, by the assistance and blessing of God, we are resolved not to be wanting; and to the intent that they may not, in case of their landing strengthen themselves by seizing the horses, ox-

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CH

en and cattle of our ſubjects, which may be uſeful to them for draught or burthen, or be eaſily ſupplied with proviſions: we have therefore thought fit, and do by this our Royal proclamation, by the advice of our privy council, ſtrictly charge and command the Warders of the cinque ports, his Lieutenants, Deputy or Deputies, and all and every the Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants of our counties, and all Sherriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, and all and every other officers and miniſters, civil and military, within their reſpective counties, cities, towns and diviſions, that they cauſe the coaſts to be carefully watched, and upon the firſt approach of the enemy immediately to cauſe all horſes, oxen, and cattle which may be fit for draught or burden, and not actually employed in our Service, or in the defence of the country, and alſo (as far as may be practicable) all other cattle and proviſions, to be driven and removed twenty miles at leaſt from the place where the enemy ſhall attempt or appear to intend to land, and to ſecure the ſame, ſo as they may not fall into the hands or power of any of our enemies; wherein, nevertheleſs, it is our will and pleaſure, that the reſpective owners thereof may ſuffer as little damage, loſs, or inconvenience as may be conſiſtent with the publick ſafety. And we do hereby further ſtrictly charge and command all our ſubjects to be aiding and aſſiſting in the execution of this our Royal command.

At the ſame time alarm poſts were appointed, and the ſeveral guards were ordered to be in readineſs to march upon the firſt notice of any tumult or inſurrection within the cities of London or Weſtminſter; which was to be ſignified by firing of ſeven half minute guns at the tower, anſwered by the ſame ſignal from St. James's park, and *vice verſa*. On hearing which ſignals, every officer and ſoldier of the ſix regiments of the city-militia were likewiſe ordered to repair, with their arms, and the uſual quantity of powder and ball, to their reſpective places of rendezvous, on pain of being puniſhed as deſerters. The like orders were given to the two regiments of the

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tower

tower hamlets. Signals were alſo ſettled to the Suſſex, Kentiſh and Eſſex coaſts, by putting out flags in the day, and in the night lights, on the tops of ſteeples and caſtles, ſo as notice of an invaſion would be at the tower and St. James's park in a few hours. About the ſame time 3000 foot and 1000 horſe were ordered for the coaſts of Eſſex, and Suffolk, and 4000 foot and 1500 horſe for the coaſt of Kent and Suſſex.

Some time before, the Lords of the Admiralty ſent orders to Portſmouth, for all the men of war to put to ſea, and took up 50 merchantmen, to be armed for cruizers, in the channel. Admiral Vernon, and the Commodores Boſcawen and Smith, were now at ſea, each with a ſquadron. The Dover privateers had gone voluntarily to Admiral Vernon in the Downs in order to receive and follow his inſtructions; on which he wrote them the following letter, addreſſed, *To the Captains of the three Dover privateers*, and dated, *Norwich, in the Downs, December* 10.

Brother Sailors,

CAPTAIN Gregory having reported the hearty honeſt zeal you have expreſſed for the ſervice of his Majeſty, and preſervation of your country, from the threatened attempts of the inveterate enemy to our laws religion and liberty; which, like the honeſt, true-hearted brother ſailors, you had roundly ſet about, manifeſting by your actions the ſincerity of your declarations, as your own judgment informs you of the preſent neceſſity for it, and that we cannot be too nimble for being before hand with them, as, according to the old proverb, *Delays are dangerous*; I take the earlieſt opportunity to ſend you, by Captain Gregory, my hearty thanks for the honeſt and laubable zeal you have expreſſed for the ſervice of his Majeſty and your country, under my orders; and to aſſure you, that I will take care to do juſtice to the merits of every one's ſervices, and that no endeavour of mine ſhall be wanting for procuring you a juſt, equitable and prompt conſideration for the merit of your willing ſervice, that you confide in the honour and

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juſtice of the crown for your being amply conſidered; for I am,

Brother Officers,

Both yours, and all our honeſt brother ſailors friend and humble ſervant,

E. VERNON.

On the 12th, two of the Dover privateers (the York, Groſvenor, and the Carliſle, Owens) fell in with eight tranſports bound from Boulogne for Dunkirk, under convoy of a French man of war of 22 guns, to take troops on board. They ſeized three of them; one of which with about forteen priſoners, was ſent the ſame night to Admiral Vernon in the Downs, and the other two to Dover next morning. The ſame privateers fell in, on the 19th, with about ſixty ſail moſtly fiſhing-boats and ſmall veſſels, from Dunkirk, bound, as they ſuppoſed, for Calais or Boulogne, to take in troops. They drove about ſeventeen of them on ſhore near Calais, blowed up one, ſunk two, and brought three away; two of which were brought to Dover, and the third loſt in that bay. All the veſſels taken had ſome warlike ſtores on board; ſuch as ſmall cannon, powder, ball, horſe-collars, cloaths and bedding for ſoldiers, and poles about ſeven feet long, ſpiked with iron at both ends. Other two French veſſels, from Roan for Boulogne, in ballaſt, were likewiſe ſent into Dover, by one of the privateers belonging to that port.

About this time the country was juſtly alarmed by the following letter from the vigilant Admiral, addreſſed, *To John Norris, Eſq; at Deal caſtle, or to the Mayor of Deal in his abſence*, and dated, *Norwich, in the Downs, Dec.* 20.

SIR,

AS from the intelligence I have procured laſt night, of the enemy's having brought away from Dunkirk great numbers of their ſmall imbarkations, and many of them laden with cannon, field-carriages, powder, ſhot, and other military ſtores; the Iriſh troops being marched

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marched out of Dunkirk towards Calais; General Lowendahl, and many other officers, being at Dunkirk, with a young perſon among them they call the Prince, and was ſaid to be the ſecond ſon of the Pretender; as I can't but apprehend they are preparing for a deſcent from the ports of Calais and Boulogne, which I ſuſpect may be attempted at Dungeneſs, where many of my cruizers are in motion for, and I have ſome thoughts of my moving to-morrow with part of my ſhips, if the weather ſhould be moderate for a deſcent; I thought it my duty, for his Majeſty's ſervice, to adviſe you of it, and to deſire you will communicate this my letter to the Mayor of Deal, and that the neighbouring towns ſhould have advice for aſſembling for their common defence; that my cruizers ſignals, for diſcovering the approach of an enemy, will be their jack-flag flying at their topmaſt-head, and firing a gun every half-hour; and to deſire they will forward the alarm. *I am, &c.*

E. VERNON.

Upon receiving the above letter, the Deputy-Lieutenants of Kent publiſhed it, with the following invitation annexed.

EVERY body who reads the above letter, willing and ready to ſtand up for the defence of their King and country, their liberties and lives, are deſired to aſſemble on Sunday morning next, 22d inſt. as ſoon as poſſible, on horſeback, with ſuch arms and ammunition as they have, and to bring two days proviſions of victuals with them. The place of rendezvous, or aſſembling, is Swinfield Minis. It is hoped all the pariſhes and towns within twenty miles of the ſea-coaſts any way will not fail to be there, with all the able-bodied men they have.

The pariſhes near to the Minis are deſired to bring ſome pick-axes, ſhovels and axes, along with them, beſides their arms.

The DEPUTY-LIEUTENANTS.

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Accordingly near 2000, or as others ſay 4000, aſſembled on the day appointed. The place is about three miles from Dover.

On the 25th Admiral Vernon ſailed from the Downs, with the following ſhips, *viz.* the Monmouth, of 70 guns; the Norwich, Ruby, and Falkland, of 50 each; the Saphire and Folkſtone, of 40 each; the Tryton, of 20; the Badger, Hornet, Weazle, and Hinchinbrook, of 16 each; and fifteen ſmall tenders, privateers, and cuſtomhouſe-ſloops.——Remained with Admiral Martin, in the Downs, the Yarmouth, of 70 guns; and the Nottingham, Tilbury, Princeſs Louiſa, and York, of 60 each.——Under Commodore Smith, in the Swin, two ſhips of 40, and two of 20 guns each; four yachts, and ſix cutters.——Under Commodore Boſcawen, at the Nore, the Royal Sovereign, of 100 guns, and ſome other ſhips.——Under Admiral Stewart, at Spithead, the Royal George, of 100 guns; the Prince George, St. George, Duke, and Sandwich, of 90 each; and the Shrewſbury, of 80.——Under Commodore Moyſton, at Plymouth, the Hampton-court Prince Frederick, and Edinburgh, of 70 guns each; the Auguſta, Defiance, Princeſs Mary, Superbe, and Canterbury, of 60 each; and the Maidſtone, of 40.——And under Admiral Byng, on the Coaſt of Scotland, the Glouceſter, of 50 guns; the Pearl, Milford, and Ludlow, of 40 each; the Winchelſea, Brigdewater, and Glaſgow, of 20 each; and the Raven, Shirk, and ſome other ſmall veſſels.

A ſhort while after this, Commodore Knowles, who had been ſent to inquire into the true ſtate of the preparations making in France to invade England, informed the Admiralty by a letter, That he had ſtood within half a mile of the pier-heads at Boulogne; that he was of opinion there were not ſixty veſſels of all kinds in the harbour, the largeſt of them a galliot hoy, whoſe very gaff was much higher than any of the other veſſels maſt-heads; and that there was not one ſingle one which had a top-ſail-yard rigged aloft. That he had been within two or three miles of Calais, and ſaw three or four ſmall topſail-veſſels in the pier; that the reſt were all galliots and

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and fishing-boats, and did not exceed thirty in number. And that by Captain Gregory's account, who was sent to take a view of the preparations at Dunkirk, there were but five or six vessels in the road, and very few in the harbour.

An order of council was published, of the 16th, extending, from the 25th of December to the 25th of March next, the time of inlisting soldiers, so as to be intitled to their discharge, if required, either at the end of six months from the respective times of their inlisting, or when the present rebellion shall be extinguished, whichever of them shall first happen.

The parliament met on the 10th of December, pursuant to its adjournment.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer acquainted the Commons, by the Kings command, that his Majesty had caused apprehend Archibald Stewart, Esq; member for, and late Provost of Edinburgh, on suspicion of high treason; and desired their consent to his being committed and detained. Agreeably to which an address was presented; and Mr. Stewart was sent to the tower on the 13th.

A motion was made, That an humble address should be presented to the King, that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to give direction, that there might be laid before the house, copies of all orders which had been given with respect to the bringing home the British cavalry from the Netherlands, specifying the persons to whom such orders were directed, and the dates thereof. But it passed in the negative, Yeas 38, Noes 101.

Next day the following message was prefented to the Commons by Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

GEORGE R.

HIS Majesty having received undoubted intelligence, that preparations were making at Dunkirk, and other ports of France, which are now in great forwardness, for invading this kingdom with a considerable number of forces, in support of the rebellion carrying on here,

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here, in favour of the Pretender to his crown; and some French troops being already actually landed in Scotland, under the command of a person, who has sent a message to the Generals of some of his Majesty's forces, declaring, that he is come into this kingdom to make war against his Majesty, by the orders of the French King: his Majesty has thought it proper to acquaint the house of Commons with an event of such high importance to his crown, and to the peace and security of these kindoms. And his Majesty having the last summer taken into his service 6000 Hessian troops, by virtue of a treaty concluded between his Majesty and the King of Sweden, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, dated the 5-16th day of June 1745, has judged it necessary to direct the said Hessian troops to bebrought into this kingdom, in order, in conjuction with his Majesty's British forces, the more effectually to repel the said invasion, and to suppress the present rebellion: his Majesty therefore doubts not, from the experienced zeal, duty and affection of his faithful Commons, that they will enable him to make good the said treaty, will strengthen his hands, and concur in all such measures as shall be necessary for disappointing and defeating so dangerous an attempt, and for the security of his person and government, and the religion, laws, and liberties of this Kingdom. His Majesty has also ordered a copy of the said treaty to be laid before this house.

G. R.

A copy of the said treaty was accordingly laid before them; and thereupon the house resolved, That an humble address should be presented to the King, to return his Majesty their humble thanks for communicating to the house the advices he had received of the preparations making at Dunkirk, and other ports of France, for invading this kingdom in support of a Popish Pretender, and of the actual landing of some French troops in Scotland; to express their detestation and abhorrence of that daring attempt, and of the insolent declaration of the person who takes upon him the command of those troops; to return his Majesty their thanks for his paternal care for the

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the ſecurity and ſafety of his people, in directing the Heſſian troops taken into his Majeſty's ſervice laſt ſummer, to be brought into this kingdom, in order the more effectually to repel the ſaid invaſion, and to ſuppreſs the preſent moſt unnatural rebellion; to aſſure his Majeſty, that the houſe would make good any expence incurred on that account; that they would with their lives and fortunes, ſupport his Majeſty's moſt ſacred perſon and government, and heartily concur in ſuch further meaſures as ſhould be found neceſſary to put a ſtrength in his Majeſty's hands, ſufficient, by the bleſſing of God, to deter our avowed enemies from proſecuting their ambitious deſigns, totally to extinguiſh the preſent wicked rebellion, and to reſcue theſe kingdoms from all apprehenſions of Popery and arbitrary power.

And, an addreſs having been preſented in theſe terms, the King gave the following anſwer, which was reported to the houſe on the 20, *viz.* "I thank you for this dutiful and affectionate addreſs. As I have always made the laws of the land the rule of my government, you may be aſſured I ſhall make no other uſe of the truſt you repoſe in me, but to defeat any attempt of our enemies, and to ſuppreſs the preſent rebellion; which, by your vigour and ſupport, I doubt not, with the bleſſing of God, ſoon to accompliſh.

A meſſage to the ſame purpoſe was ſent to the other houſe; on which their Lordſhips likewiſe preſented a loyal and humble addreſs, and received a moſt gracious anſwer.

On the 29th of November, a party of the rebel-horſe from Carliſle went to Penrith, demanded quarters of 3000 men, whom they reported to be upon the road, and gave orders that the exciſe-money, contributions, *&c.* ſhould be held in readineſs for them. Thereupon the people of the town ſent out ſcouts to Penrith-fell, to diſcover the rebels; but no more appearing, the fire-bell was rung, which alarmed and brought together great numbers from all parts. The horſe thereupon marched off for the bridge, and from thence to Louther-hall; of which they took poſſeſſion. The country people immediately

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immediately purſued them, ſurrounded the houſe, fired into it upon them, killed one, wounded ſeveral, and made ten priſoners, with all their horſes. Eight of the rebels made their eſcape over the water. Of the country-people only one was wounded, who was ſhot thro' the thigh. Mr. Boyd, ſecond ſon to the Earl of Kilmarnock, having fallen ill, was left at Carliſle when the rebels marched South. A few days after, finding himſelf better, he ſet out to join the army, with an eſcort of about twenty men. At Lowther-hall, when at dinner, they were attacked by a great number of militia, headed by Lord Lonſdale's ſteward. They defended themſelves deſperately; and ſix of them, of whom Mr. Boyd was one, cut their way through. The reſt were either killed or taken.

A letter dated at Butley-aſhe, two miles North of Macclesfield, December 1. deſcribed the young Chevalier thus "About three in the afternoon marched by the Pretender's ſon, at the head of two regiments of foot. He marched all the way from Mancheſter, and forded the river above Stockport, which took him up to the middle. He was dreſſed in a light plaid, belted about with a blue ſaſh. He wore a grey wig, and a blue bonnet, with a white roſe in it."

In a long march which the Pretender's ſon made in Lancaſhire, thro' very bad roads, he wore a hole in one of his ſhoes. Upon his arrival at a ſmall village, he ordered a blackſmith to make a thin plate of iron, and faſten it to the bottom of the ſole. Which done, he paid him, and ſaid, "My lad, thou art the firſt blackſmith that ever ſhod the ſon of a King."

"The principal perſon upon whom the Pretender's ſon depended in this expedition, was one Sullivan. He is by birth an Iriſhman, and was educated in a Romiſh college abroad; where he entered into Prieſts orders. He had the fortune to be recommended to Marſhal Maillebois, by whom he was retained as a domeſtic tutor to his ſon. The Marſhal perceiving in him ſome ſymptoms of a genius better adapted to the ſword than to the gown, encouraged him rather to apply himſelf to the latter

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latter profeſſion; which he did with ſuch ſucceſs, that, having attended his maſter to Corſica, when the French undertook to deprive thoſe poor people of their liberties, he acted as his Secretary. The Marſhal, who was a *bon vivant*, and uſed conſtantly to get drunk every day after dinner, was almoſt incapable of buſineſs the greateſt part of the twenty four hours; during all which time the whole power devolved on Sullivan; who executed it in ſuch a manner as to do great honour both to himſelf and his maſter; having here gained a very high military reputation, as well as much knowledge in what is called the art of making irregular war. He afterwards ſerved two compaigns, one in Italy, and the other on the Rhine; in which latter compaign a French General giving a character of him, ſaid, that he underſtood the irregular art of war better than any man in Europe; nor was his knowledge in the regular much inferior to that of the beſt General. To the abilities of this man we may juſtly attribute the ſucceſs with which a handful of banditti have ſo long been able to over-run and plunder a large part of this oppulent and powerful nation."

After the arrival of the French troops a declaration was publiſhed by the perſon ſtiling himſelf *Lord John Drummond* in the following terms.

WE Lord John Drummond, Commander in Chief of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's forces in Scotland do hereby declare, That we are come to this kingdom with written orders to make war againſt the King of England, Elector of Hanover, and his adherents; and that the poſitive orders we have from his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty are, to attack all his enemies in this kingdom; whom he has declared to be, thoſe who will not immediately join or aſſiſt, as far as will lie in their power, the Prince of Wales, Regent in Scotland, *&c.* his ally; and whom he is reſolved, with the concurrence of the King of Spain, to ſupport in the taking poſſeſſion of Scotland, England, and Ireland, if neceſſary at the expence of all the men and money he is maſter of; to which three kingdoms the family of Stuart have ſo juſt and indiſputable

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table a title. And his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's poſitive orders are, That his enemies ſhould be uſed in this kingdom in proportion to the harm they do or intend to his Royal Highneſs's cauſe.—Given at Montroſe the 2d of December 1745.

J. DRUMMOND.

Thoſe troops brought along with them a train of artillery of 18 pounders, and, ſoon after their landing, ordered it South. One of their cannon took twenty of the North-country horſes to draw it. About the beginning of December, they gave out that they would croſs the Forth, and talked of beſieging both Edinburgh and Stirling caſtles. On notice of this, Price's foot marched from Edinburgh on the 6th, and Ligonier's on the 9th, for Stirling. A body of the Glaſgow and Paiſly militia marched thither about the ſame time. The Earl of Home commanded the former, and the Earl of Glencairn the latter. They were joined by the Stirling militia. The whole were poſted ſo as beſt to ſecure the bridge of Stirling, and the fords at the heads of the Forth.

About this time a drum was ſent by Lord John Drummond, with letters to the King's Generals, and to Count Naſſau, commander in chief of the Dutch troops then in England. He touched firſt at Stirling. There he got an eſcort of eight dragoons. He arrived at Edinburgh on the 9th, delivered letters at the caſtle, and to General Gueſt, proceeded Southward on the 11th, and arrived at Newcaſtle on the 19th. 'Tis probable theſe letters related to the declaration above mentioned, or to the French cartel for exchange of priſoners. Marſhal Wade cauſed the following return to be given to the drum: "That the Marſhal had no anſwer to give to the letter brought by him; and that he can receive no meſſage from a perſon who is a ſubject of the King and in rebellion againſt his Majeſty."

Upon the news of the march of the rebels into England, and ſome pretended ſucceſſes gained by them, the Fraſers, headed by Lord Lovat's ſon, formed a fort of

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blockade

blockade of Fort Auguſtus: whilſt Lord Lewis Gordon, in Banff and Aberdeenſhire, was raiſing men and levying money, by force, and threats of the moſt ſevere military execution. The money impoſed on the town and ſhire of Aberdeen being 5 l. Sterling or an able-bodied man, with ſufficient highland cloaths, plaid and arms, for every 100 l. Scots of valued rent, was computed at near 13,000 l. Sterling. On the 3d of December, the Earl of Loudon, with 600 of the well affected clans marched, in a very ſevere froſt, from Inverneſs, thro' Strätherrick, part of Lord Lovat's eſtate, on the South-ſide of Lochneſs, to the relief of Fort Auguſtus. He met with no oppoſition, ſupplied the place with what was wanting, and returned to Inverneſs on the 8th; after letting the inhabitants of Stratherrick know what they were to expect if they joined the rebels.

This detachment, after one day's reſt, was ordered to march and relieve Banff and Aberdeenſhire. For this end, two companies of Mackenzies, who had been poſted near Brahan, were called into Inverneſs on Monday the 9th. On the 10th, the Lord Loudon, with 800 men, marched out to Lord Lovat's houſe of Caſtle-Downie, to obtain the beſt ſecurity he could for the peaceable behaviour of the Fraſers. At the ſame time the Laird of Macleod was detached with 500 men (400 whereof were of his own kindred) towards Elgin, in their way to Banff and Aberdeenſhire, to prevent the rebels recruiting there; and they were to be followed by Lord Loudon, and as many men as could be ſpared from Inverneſs. Lord Loudon prevailed with Lord Lovat, upon Wedneſday the 11th, to come into Inverneſs along with him, and to live there under his eye until he ſhould bring in all the arms which the clan was poſſeſſed of; which he promiſed to do againſt Saturday night following, and highly condemned the behaviour of his ſon. Whilſt Lord Loudon waited for the delivery of theſe arms, 200 men, under Captain Monro of Culcairn, were detached by his Lordſhip to follow Mackleod to Elgin and Aberdeen. Lord Lovat, after delaying to fulfil his promiſe from time to time, at laſt found means to get out of the houſe where

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where he was lodged, at a back paſſage, and made his eſcape. In the mean time Macleod marched forwards to Elgin; and from thence, hearing that 200 rebels had taken poſſeſſion of the boats of Spey at Fochabris, and pretended to diſpute the paſſage with him, he advanced on Sunday the 15th to the banks of that river; which the rebels on his approach quitted, leaving him a quiet paſſage. From thence he advanced on the 16th and 17th to Cullen and Banff, whilſt Captain Monro with his 200 men, on the 17th and 18th, advanced by Keith to Strathbogie; and the rebels, who were in poſſeſſion of thoſe places, retired towards Aberdeen. Mr. Grant of Grant joined Captain Monro with 500 of his clan, and marched with him to Strathbogie. Upon the 19th it was reſolved by Macleod and Captain Monro to march the next morning, the firſt from Banff to Old-Meldrum, twelve miles off Aberdeen, and the laſt from Strathbogie to Inverury, which is at the like diſtance.

On the 23d, a body of the rebels from Aberdeen attacked the party under the command of Macleod and Culcairn, at Inverury. A few were killed on each ſide. Macleod and Culcairn, with their men, retreated.—— The rebels took 41 priſoners; among whom were Meſſrs. Gordon of Ardoch junior, Forbes of Echt, and John Chalmers one of the Regents in the univerſity of Aberdeen.

By the direction of ſome French engineers, the rebels at Perth in ſome ſort repaired Oliver's mount, and had from 100 to 200 country people employed in fortifying the whole town. The officers who were priſoners there, were ſent to Glammis. Letters from Inverneſs, dated December 22. ſaid, that the rebels at Perth had got no acceſſion of ſtrength from that country, ſave between 2 and 300 Fraſers headed by Lord Lovat's ſon, and ſome Macdonalds of Clanronald's people from Moidart, who had marched thro' Athol ſix days before the date, eſcorting a conſiderable quantity of Spaniſh money that was landed in the iſland of Barry. There were advices about the end of December, that the rebels had got ſome of their military ſtores, particularly iron can-

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non.

son and ball, from Montroſe by ſea to Perth; that they had fitted out the Hazard ſloop and a privateer at Montroſe, which were ready to put to ſea; and that they were alſo fitting out an armed ſloop at Perth.

A party of highlanders and French came to Dumfermling on the 27th, to collect the ceſs and exciſe, and committed ſeveral outrages there and at Alloa. Beſides raiſing the publick monies, they aſſeſſed ſeveral Gentlemen in conſiderable ſums, *viz.* Sir George Preſton of Valleyfield, in 300 l. Mr. Welwood of Garvock, in 250; Maſters Cunningham of Balbougie, and Charles Cochran, in 200 each; Sir Robert Henderſon of Fordel, Maſters Blackwood of Pitreavie, and Erſkine of Carnock, in 150 each Maſters Colvil of Torieburn, and Dundas of Blair, in 100 each; and Maſters Robert Welwood, and Black, Clerk of Dumfermline, in 50 each.

The French priſoners taken by the Milford, and lodged in the caſtle of Edinburgh, were ſhipped at Leith on the 26th, and ſent to Berwick. Some of the officers were left in the caſtle; and ſixteen of the private men were brought back to Edinburgh from Berwick, who were ſaid to have deſerted from the Britiſh forces when in Flanders.

Four Gentlemen were deputed by ſeveral of the principal inhabitants of Edinburgh, to congratulate the Duke of Cumberland on his ſucceſs againſt the rebels, and to invite him to that capital in caſe he ſhould enter Scotland. The deputies were introduced to the Duke, by the Earl of Panmuir, at the camp before Carliſle; were graciouſly received, and had the honour to dine with his Royal Highneſs. They were eye-witneſſes to the ſurrender of that place. The Duke entered on the morning of the 31ſt, amidſt the loud acclamations of the people. Four dragoons found there, who had inliſted with the young Chevalier after the battle of *Preſton* were hanged up. The Duke's preſence being abſolutely neceſſary at Loudon, he could not honour Edinburgh with a viſit; but expreſſed the higheſt regard for the loyalty and affection of the inhabitants.

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When the rebels forded the Eſk on the 20th, that river was breaſt deep; and ſome of them were drowned. On their approach, the Glaſgow militia who had not before marched to Stirling, ſecured their arms in Dumbarton caſtle.

At Glaſgow the rebels publiſhed a journal of their marches from the time of their entering England on the 8th of November till their return into Scotland on the 20th of December. It is there ſaid, That in a council of war held in the Pretender's ſon's preſence, at Derby, December 5. (diſpatches of importance being received), it was reſolved to return to Scotland: and next day they began their march accordingly.—That, at Clifton, the King's troops formed on a muir within half a cannon-ſhot of that village; that, about an hour after ſunſet, ſeveral dragoons diſmounted, came to the bottom of the muir, and lined ſome hedges and ditches next to it; that there was a pretty ſmart fire on both ſides for above half an hour; that, at laſt, the dragoons firing very faſt, Lord George Murray, who always commanded the rearguard, ſent Cluny Macpherſon's battalion down upon them ſword in-hand, with orders to drive them from their poſts, but not to advance upon the muir; that the Macpherſons, after paſſing two hedges, drove the dragoons from the third, which was the laſt, and then returned, as they were ordered, to their former poſts, with the loſs of twelve men only, who had run up the muir, and were amiſſing; that the number of dragoons killed and wounded was uncertain, but judged not to be under a hundred; that, night being come on, both ſides retired: and that thereafter the King's troops did not come in ſight of the rebels.—That the Pretender's ſon marched always on foot at the head of the men; and that by all accidents, ſuch as death by ſickneſs, and people who had gone a-plundering (which they confeſſed could not be entirely prevented by the officers) and were never more heard of, they did not loſe forty men in the expedition, including the twelve at Clifton. ——But different accounts gave out that about a hundred of the rebels were taken priſoners.

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Extract

Extract of a Letter from Derby.

ON Wednesday the 4th of December, about eleven o'clock, two of the rebels vanguard entered this town, inquired for the magistrates, and demanded billets for 9000 men or more. A short while after, the vanguard rode into town, consisting of about 30 men, cloathed in blue faced with red, and scarlet waist-coats with gold lace; and, being likely men, made a good appearance. They were drawn up in the market-place, and sat on horseback two or three hours. At the same time the bells were rung, and several bonfires made to prevent any resentment from them that might ensue on our shewing a dislike of their coming among us. About three afternoon, Lord Elcho, with the life-guards, and many of their chiefs, arrived on horseback, to the number of about 150, most of them cloathed as above. These made a fine shew, being the flower of their army. Soon after, their main body marched into town, in tolerable order, six or eight abreast, with about eight standards, most of them white flags and a red cross; bag-pipers playing as they marched along. While they were in the market-place, they ordered their Prince to be publickly proclaimed before he arrived; which was accordingly done by the common cryer. They then insisted upon the magistrates appearing in their gowns; but being told they had sent them out of town, were content to have that ceremony excused. Their Prince did not arrive till the dusk of the evening. He walked on foot, attended by a great body of his men, who conducted him to his lodgings, the Lord Exter's; where he had guards placed all round the house. Every house almost by this time was pretty well filled; but they continued driving in till ten or eleven at night, and we thought we should never have seen the last of them. The Dukes of Athol and Perth, the Lords Pitsligo, Nairn, Elcho, and George Murray, old Gordon of Glenbucket, and their other chiefs and great officers, Lady Ogilvie, and Mrs. Murray, were lodged at the best Gentlemens houses. Many common ordinary houses, both publick and private, had 40 or 50 men

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each, and some Gentlemen near 100. At their coming in, they were generally treated with bread, cheese, beer, and ale, whilst all hands were aloft getting their suppers ready. After supper, being weary with their long march, they went to rest, most upon straw, and others in beds.

Next day they beat up for voluntiers, and offering five shillings advance, and five guineas when they came to London; but met with very little success. They ordered the cryer to make publick proclamation about the town, for all persons that paid excise, to pay what was due by five o'clock that evening, on pain of military execution; by which means they collected a considerable sum of money. They also made a demand of 100l. upon the post office, and afterwards insisted upon 50l.; which not being complied with, they took the post-chaise along with them. Besides, they demanded what money had been subscribed and paid towards raising men in this town and country; which many Gentlemen were obliged to pay. They appointed prayers to be read at six in the evening at the great church; which was performed by young Cappock of Manchester, (since taken at Carlisle).

Early on Friday morning, their drums beat to arms, and their bag-pipers played about the town. No one then knew their route; but most imagined they would march to Loughborough for London, their advance-guard having secured the pass at Swarkston-bridge, (tho' several had asserted the contrary). However, we were soon undeceived, by their precipitate retreat the same road they came, marching off about seven in the morning. Their Prince, mounted upon a black horse, left his lodgings about nine o'clock. We were rid of all of them, except a few straglers, by eleven. Their hussars were a parcel of fierce and desperate fellows, and were the last body that quitted the town. They ransacked the neighbouring villages for arms and horses, of which they got a great number.

Their artillery was at Nun's-green, not in our market-place

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ket-place, nor did the officers who came back raiſe any money, as had been formerly aſſerted.

By an exact account taken of the number quartered in each of the five pariſhes of this town, there were in whole the firſt night 7098, and the ſecond night 7148.

An account of the behaviour of the rebels at Manchester, on their retreat.

THE Bellman went about the town on Sunday the 8th of December, to order all perſons to provide pick axes, *&c.* to ſpoil the roads, and again, to arm themſelves with ſuch weapons as they could get; and there were, 'tis believed, of the country and town's folks about 10,000 ſoon collected, armed with ſcythes, hedge-ſtakes, *&c.* who ſeemed very hearty to have a bruſh with the rebels. But the Gentlemen conſidering, that, if they did ſtop them, it muſt be attended with the loſs of a great many uſeful lives, and the hazard of of the town being burnt, the Bellman went about the town to order them to diſperſe. At night four rebels came thither. One of them, ſuppoſed to be Thomas Syddel the barber, narrowly eſcaped being ſeized at the upper end of Market-ſtreet-lane. He was forced to gallop down the ſtreet, and thro' Acker's gate; and in the ſquare he quitted his mare.

Next day at noon, about 40 of the rebels came in. Several ſtones were thrown at them by the mob as they came thro' Hanging ditch. They threatned to fire, but did not; and ſat on horſeback, ſome with piſtols, others with guns in their hands, all ready cocked, till the main body came in. They billeted themſelves moſt at their old quarters. They behaved worſe than they did before. About ſeven o'clock, the conſtables ſent for ſeveral of the principal inhabitants to meet them at the old coffee-houſe, and there ſhewed them a warrant from the Pretender, to raiſe from the town 5000l. againſt the next day by four o'clock, on pain of military execution. It was thought impoſſible to do this, conſidering the ſums they had extorted from the town before, which amounted to near 3000l.

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Next morning, a considerable number of the inhabitants met; some of whom waited on the Pretender, to acquaint him with the impossibility of raising the money, and to endeavour to have the payment excused. Upon this he mitigated it to 2500l. and sent a warrant for that sum to be levied on Manchester and Salford by one o'clock; and while methods were contriving how to procure it, three or four of the rebels seized Mr James Bailey senior, took him to Secretary Murray at the Pretender's lodgings, and told him he must be a prisoner till it was paid; and if it was not paid, he must go with them. Mr. Bailey endeavoured to excuse himself, by saying he was betwixt 70 and 80 years old, and, to his remembrance, had not lain a night out of his own bed for two years, nor could bear travel. He was told, if he could not ride, they would endeavour to get him a wheel carriage. Mr. Bailey said, his confinement was an obstruction to the raising the money, and if he was at liberty he might borrow some. The Secretary brought an answer, that the Prince, in consideration of his age, if he would give him his word and honour to fetch him 2500l. in two hours, or surrender himself a prisoner, consented he should have his liberty so long. This Mr. Bailey agreed to, and went to the coffee-house where a great number of the inhabitants were; and it being proposed that Mr. Bailey and Mr. John Dickenson should give promissory notes, payable in three months, to such as would lend any money, it was agreed to, and the money being thereby procured, was paid about two o'clock. Their main body marched this morning for Wigan, and the remainder in the afternoon.

The Duke of Cumberland did not pursue the rebels further than Carlisle. After the surrender of that place, his Royal Highness left the army and returned to London, where he arrived on the 5th of January in the morning. Marshal Wade with the army under his command returned to Newcastle about the 20th of December, after having been in march more than a month, in order to stop the progress, or intercept the retreat of the rebels; but without ever coming up with them. A considerable

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ſiderable body of troops were ordered for Scotland, and the command given to Lieutenant General Henry Hawley.

By a medium of ſeveral computations, the number of the rebels, when they arrived at Glaſgow, was about 3600 foot, and near 500 horſe, including 50 or 60 employed in carrying their ſick. Their horſes were poor and jaded; and 6 or 700 of their foot had no arms, nor ability to uſe them. While they were there, they loſt ſeveral men by deſertion and death, and inliſted about 50 or 60, who took on with them for want of bread.

Beſides theſe, it was thought there were about 800 highlanders then quartered in the neighbourhood of Stirling, and ſeveral hundred at Montroſe, where there were alſo a good number of low country rebels under the command of Sir James Kinloch, and one David Ferier who had formerly been a merchant in Brechin. About 400 french and a few highlanders remained at Perth, and towards the end of December about two or three hundred men from Braemar and Cromar came to Aberdeen to join Lord Lewis Gordon, then upon his march to Perth with 800 men; the number of the rebels about Perth, Aberdeen and the country about, were at this time ſuppoſed to be towards 4000. But we are perſwaded that by this account, the number was greatly exagerated.

On the other hand, accounts from Inverneſs, dated December 30. ſaid, that the force then under the command of the Earl of Loudon, was aboot 1700 highlanders; that, of theſe, ſeven companies were then between Inverneſs and the Spey, and the reſt in the town; and that three companies more, of 100 men each, were expected. Major General Campbell arrived at Inverary on the 21ſt of December, and propoſed, in a day or two after, to march 600 men thence, to join General Blakeney at Stirling. At Campbelton 450 men were raiſed, and ready to march for his Majeſty's ſervice on one day's notice. By the 7th of January, there were 700 men at Dumbarton, conſiſting of three companies of Loudon's regiment, one of Lord John Murray's, both highland

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highland regiments, and eight of Argyleſhire militia; and Lieutenant Colonel John Campbell came there that day, to take the command of them. Price's and Ligonier's regiments of foot, ſome of Hamilton's and Ligonier's (formerly Gardiner's) regiments of dragoons, upwards of 500 Glaſgow militia, and 160 of thoſe of Paiſly, were at and about Stirling guarding the paſſages of the Forth; but, on the approach of the highland army from England, moved thence to Edinburgh on the 23d of December, leaving General Blakeney with the garriſon in the Caſtle, and 400 Stirling militia in the town.

As there were few or no regular forces in Edinburgh when the news came of the return of the highland army into Scotland, the inhabitants were under no ſmall apprehenſions leſt they ſhould direct their march thither. Some of the publick offices and valuable effects were ſecured in the caſtle upon the 22d and 23d of December. On the 25th, Price's and Ligonier's foot, and Hamilton's and Ligonier's dragoons arrived in town from Stirling about the ſame time; but theſe took ſhipping at Borrowtounneſs, and came to Leith by water.— It was at this time reported, that all the troops and the militia were to march for Berwick. Horſes were provided on the 23d, and ſecured in the caſtle; in order, as was ſuppoſed, to tranſport their baggage: but they were diſcharged next day, and the troops did not move from Edinburgh.—Notice was now got, that the rebels, having divided into ſeveral bodies, had all directed their march Weſtward: and that the firſt diviſion of General Hawley's army were ſet out from Newcaſtle for Edinburgh: which in good meaſure eaſed the inhabitants of their fears.—Mean time General Blakeney, having the rebels ſo near him on both hands, uſed the precaution to cut one of the arches of Stirling bridge.

Soon after their arrival at Glaſgow, the rebels made a demand upon that city of 12,000 ſhirts, 6000 bonnets, 6000 pair of ſhoes, 6000 pair of ſtockings, and 6000 waiſtcoats, amounting to near 10,000 l. Sterling in value. They likewiſe required liſts of the promoters of the fund for raiſing a regiment in that city for the ſervice

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vice of the government, the sums subscribed by each, and the officers who commanded it: but this the Provost absolutely refused to comply with. A contribution in money was threatened to be imposed besides. About the end of September, when the highland army was at Edinburgh, they had made a demand of 15,000 l. upon the city of Glasgow; but were prevailed upon to lessen it to 5500 l.; and it was now feared the city would be the more hardly dealt with, for having armed against the rebels, notwithstanding their lenity on that occasion.—They assessed Provost Buchanan in 500 l. because of his having promoted the new levies on the behalf of the government, and were very outrageous against all those who appeared zealous and active in raising them, by plundering and burning their houses, destroying their goods and furniture, and (where they could not carry off their provisions) by spoiling them in a most unheard of manner; which, far from having the effect the rebels proposed, greatly increased the spirit against them. They raised 500 l. at Paisly, levied the publick money at Renfrew and other places, and made demands a good way round. Some of these, however, as we were informed, were never complied with, nor rigorously insisted on; particularly the following order, addressed, *To the Commissioners of Supply for the shire of Linlithgow.*

Charles Prince of Wales, &c. Regent of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging.

FINDING it necessary to have an immediate supply of horses, we are resolved to raise them the most equal way, laying them upon the different counties of this our ancient kingdom of Scotland, according to their respective valuations. You are therefore hereby commanded and required, to deliver us, on or before the 16th day of January next, where we shall happen to be for the time, twenty five horses, of the value of 10 l. Sterling each, which is to be ascertained by proper persons, to be named by us for that purpose; otherwise to pay to our Secretary, for our use, 10 l. Sterling for each horse.

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horſe. And, for your relief, you are impowered to meet, and lay a tax upon the whole heritors, and others of the county, in proportion to their valued rents to the extent of this demand: which you are to comply with, upon pain of military execution, to be done againſt your goods and effects. Given at Glaſgow, the 30th day of December 1745.

By his Highneſs's command

J. MURRAY.

After the troops that guarded the fords of the Forth moved to Edinburgh, Glengyle, with the help of floats, (the boats being all deſtroyed), paſſed that river at the Frew, and placed a guard on the South-ſide. Some hundreds of the rebels paſſed the Forth in their way to Glaſgow when the army lay there; and the Duke of Perth, with a party of about 150, went from that place on the 28th of December, and was reported to go home. Small parties were continually paſſing that way, whether deſerting, or marching to Perth, was not known. The rebels gave out, that they were to attack Stirling; and, on the 30th, the cannon from Perth were moved towards that place; amongſt which there were two pieces of eighteen pounders, two of twelve, two of ſixteen, all braſs, beſides iron cannon, and a large quantity of powder and ball.

Another viſit of the rebels was expected at Edinburgh. The inhabitants therefore, ſo ſoon as they were informed that the firſt diviſion of General Hawley's army were on their march from Newcaſtle, took advice of the Gentlemen of the army; and the following reſolutions were agreed to in a council of war about the 28th of December: 1. That orders be given to lay in immediately a ſufficient quantity of proviſions. 2. That a corps of able-bodied men from the country be forthwith brought into the city, and added to the regular forces and militia. 3. That the cannon on travelling-carriages, harneſſes for horſes, cartridges for the cannon, primers *&c.* be provided. 4. That the proper works be thrown up before the different ports, and the foot of the ſeveral cloſſes; and

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and that all the ports that shall be judged useless, be immediately built up. 5. That proper communications be made, for the ready junction of troops round the walls. 6. That artillery-tumblers be forthwith loaded with ball and cartridges, to be sent where there may be occasion. 7. That a quantity of wheel barrows pickaxes, shovels, and other necessary artillery stores be provided, together with horses to draw the train.——Next day a paper was read in the churches, importing, That it had been resolved in a council of war, in case the rebels should approach, to defend the city against them; and therefore desiring such of the inhabitants as chose to stay in town, to lay in provisions for five or six days.

Mean while express after express was sent to the rebels by their friends about Edinburgh, to hasten their march thither. News came to town on the 30th of December, that they had called in their cloathing half-made, and packed it up: which was taken for a signal of their march; and thereupon the country militia were called into the city. Pursuant to a recommendation by the Lord Justice-Clerk, lists of the able-bodied men proper to be intrusted with arms had been made up by the heritors of several counties, with the assistance of the parish ministers. A small corps of them accordingly came into town on the evening of the 30th, and a considerable number in a day or two after. Several Ministers marched with their parishioners, some of them in arms. The volunteers of the associate congregations of Edinburgh and Dalkeith, seceders from the established church, kept in a body by themselves, and had proper colours, with this inscription, *For religion, the covenants, King, and kingdoms.* Their ministers did not march with them. All had arms and ammunition delivered them out of the King's magazine in the castle. The works about the city were likewise begun, and preparations made for a vigorous defence.

In a few days, however, the first division of the troops arrived, which rendered the continuing of the works unnecessary. A battalion of the Scots Royal and Battereau's foot having been provided in horses by the Gentlemen

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men and farmers of the Lothains, &c. to expedite their march, reached Edinburgh on the 2d of January; Fleming's and Blackney's foot, on the 3d; Major General Huske, on the 4th; General Hawley, commander in chief, on the 6th; Wolf's and Cholmondeley's foot, on the 7th; Howard's (the Old Buffs) and Monro's foot, on the 8th; and Barrel's and Pultney's foot, on the 10th. —The troops were entertained at Dunbar, Aberlady, &c. by the counties of the Lothains. Each soldier got a pound of beef, a pound of bread, a glass of Scots spirits, and a bottle of ale. They were likewise entertained at Edinburgh, by the city; where they were received with illuminations, and other demonstrations of joy. Windows not illuminated were broke by the populace. Empty houses suffered considerably on this occasion. Some of the troops were billeted in the city, suburbs and Leith; but the greatest part were quartered in publick buildings and empty houses; the inhabitants furnishing them blankets by direction of the Constables.

On the 3d of January the rebels marched for Stirling, one column by Kilsyth, and another by Cumbernauld, The whole of the shirts, &c. imposed on Glasgow, not being made when they marched, Messrs. Archibald Coates and George Carmichal, Merchants, were carried along as hostages, for security that what they had not got should be delivered, Next day they sent for printing materials and workmen; which were accordingly provided for them.

The Pretender's son lay at Mr. Campbell's of Shawfield, near Kilsyth, on the 3d. Mr. Campbell's steward was ordered to provide every thing, and promised payment; but was told next morning. that the bill should be allowed to his master at accounting for the rents of Kilsyth, being a forfeited estate. Next day, the army advanced towards Stirling, and were cantoned at Denny, Bannockburn, and St. Ninian's. A strong party of their best men were detached to Falkirk, for a rear-guard. The Pretender's son took up his quarters at Bannockburn, the house of Sir Hugh Paterson. Lord George Murray and John Drummond were at Alloa on the 4th, concerting

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concerting how to bring over the cannon from Perth, by floats. They afterwards ſurveyed the paſſage at Cambus, to ſee if it could be done more conveniently there; and then went to Dumblain, leaving 100 men at Alloa.

On the 8th, the rebels got into Stirling, the inhabitants opening the gates, as the city was not defenſible. The militia made their eſcape by ſmall parcels. Their officers with all the arms went into the caſtle; where, as was aſſured, General Blakeney was well provided with men and proviſions. At this time the rebels had no heavy cannon but two twelve pounders, which, with great labour, they had brought round by the Frew. Immediatly after entering Stirling, they ſent off three four-pounders to the hill of Airth, to prevent the King's ſhips getting farther up the river, and to cover the paſſage of the reſt of their heavy cannon, then lying near Alloa. Next day the Pretender's ſon reviewed the troops at Falkirk, which amounted to 1685 men.

Some days before this, two ſloops of war had ſailed up from Leith road, to guard the paſſages, ſo as to prevent, or at leaſt retard the rebels getting their cannon, *&c.* from Alloa.——On the 8th, General Hawley ſent up ſome boats armed, and a ſmall veſſel with cannon, manned with 300 men, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Leighton, to deſtroy all the works which they had made to cover the paſſage. Captain Faulkener, in the Vulture ſloop, one of the two firſt mentioned, being arrived at Inverkeithing road, ſent a cutter and boats before; who, upon their arrival in Kincardine road, ſaw a brig come out of Airth, which the rebels had ſeized in order to tranſport their cannon from Alloa. Next morning, the 8th, Captain Faulkener arrived in Kincardine road likewiſe; and receiving intelligence of the brig's having come out of Airth the day before, and of there being two more veſſels there, liable to be ſeized likewiſe by the rebels, he ſent the boats manned and armed, to burn them; which they effectually performed, without the loſs of a man, tho' the rebels fired ſome platoons from the town. While this was doing, the tide fell ſo low, that he could not return to the

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road that night: upon which the rebels in Airth opened a battery of three pieces of cannon, and in the morning began to play upon him very unexpectedly; but did him no damage. The fire from the sloop dismounted two of the rebels cannon, killed their principal engineer, as was reported, with some others, and drove them all out of the town, and from their battery. After which, they drew off their cannon to Elphingston; and having got one more from Falkirk, with a reinforcement of 3 or 400 men, who went off in a great hurry on the 10th in the morning, they erected a four-gun battery on the point of Elphingston, in order to guard the pass.

Colonel Leighton, with 300 men, came to the assistance of the ships on the 9th. It was agreed to attack the brig at Alloa; which, according to accounts afterwards received had on board two large cannon and ammunition. There were five more cannon at Alloa; three of which were mounted on the key. Accordingly, 50 soldiers in a large boat, with the ship's boats manned and armed, were ordered up the river, to lie all night a mile above Alloa, to prevent the brig's going up that night; and Captain Faulkener and Colonel Leighton re-resolved to go up in the morning to attack the town, and take the brig from under the guns of Alloa. All this might have been executed; but the boats, after they had passed the town, unluckily grounded; which discovered the design. The rebels immediately beat to arms, fired from right to left very near half a mile, and obliged the boats to retreat, with the loss of one man, and another's leg shot off. The brig's going up that tide was however prevented. It was resolved to get up next morning with the ships; and the soldiers were landed at Kincardine, in order to attack the rebels by land. But, while this was doing, the brig took the opportunity of sailing up the river next tide.

The battery which the rebels had erected at Elphingston was very briskly attacked by the Pearl and Vulture sloops, within musket-shot, and three of their cannon dismounted: but one of the sloops having had her cable cut asunder by one of their cannon shot, she was, by the

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strength

ſtrength of the ebb tide, forced from her ſtation; and the two pilots in the other (Moriſon of Leith, and Adams of Airth), having each loſt a leg (by one ball, of which they died in a week or two after), they were obliged to quit the battery, and give up the enterprize; tho' not without retarding the rebels meaſures for attacking Stirling caſtle. In this whole affair, only two ſailors were killed, and ten or twelve wounded; but the land forces under Colonel Leighton received no damage.

On the 8th, the troops in and about Perth received orders to hold themſelves in readineſs to march to Stirling; and on the 11th, in the morning, the Macdonalds, under Bariſdale, and Moidart's brother, ſet out for that place; as did the Fraſers, under the Maſter of Lovat, in the afternoon. The Mackintoſhes and Farquharſons were to march next day. At this time there were only 200 Gordons at Perth, but between 4 and 500 more were expected in a day or two, together with 400 French that had landed ſome time before. Two ſmall ſloops were then lately come to Perth from Dundee, with powder, ball, pickaxes, ſhovels, biſcuit, wine, and ſpirits, 15 ſwivel-guns, and 500 firelocks, brought from France for a regiment to be levied thereabouts for Major Nairn.

By the 12th the rebels, having got all their cannon over the Forth, had broken ground between the church of Stirling and a large houſe called Mar's work, for erecting a battery there againſt the caſtle. The ports of the town were ſhut up, and guards placed at all the outlets, to prevent people coming in for, or going out with intelligence to the King's troops. By the 14th, they had got together two pieces of cannon of ſixteen pounders, two of eight, and three of three, and were expecting four pieces more by water for their battery. They had alſo a great number of faſcines; but had not been able to plant their cannon, General Blakeney having fired upon them ſeveral times from the caſtle and demoliſhed their works. Several expreſſes had been ſent to their troops in Perthſhire to haſten their march towards Stirling. Their numbers, however, on the South

side of the Forth could not exceed 6000, supposing them to have been joined by the greatest part of those from Perthshire, and that they had lost no men by desertion; whereas it was assured they had lost a great many. They had about a 1000 more, which were cantoned in the North, including about 400 French, which lay at Montrose guarding the Hazard sloop and their magazines.

A considerable army was now assembled at Edinburgh, consisting of twelve battalions of foot and two regiments of dragoons, regular troops; the Edinburgh and Glasgow regiments, and the Paisly militia, irregulars. General Hawley sent home the country militia that had been called into the city from the Lothians, &c. with orders to be ready at a call. When the march of the army was resolved upon, an advertisement was published by the committee of the subscribers for the Edinburgh regiment, dated January 10. importing. That it had been represented to them, that it was absolutely necessary for the publick service, that his Majesty's forces quartered in and about the city should, in their march that cold season, have the use of the blankets which had been furnished them; and therefore desiring, that such persons as had given blankets, and were not willing they should be so employed, might intimate a demand of them back again, by signing a paper which was to lie in the council-chamber on the 11th and 13th between ten and twelve o'clock before noon; that otherwise it would be presumed they agreed their blankets should be so employed.

On the 13th in the morning, five old regiments and the Glasgow regiment, foot, with the remains of Hamilton's and Gardiner's dragoons, under the command of Major General Huske, marched Westward, from Edinburgh.——Among other proofs of its loyalty, that city gave one upon this occasion; for of near 3000 pair of blankets furnished to the soldiers by the inhabitants, few or none were required to be returned, notwithstanding the advertisement above mentioned; on the contrary, a further supply was offered if necessary.——The same morning, about 1100 of the rebels, under the command of

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of Lord George Murray and Lord Elcho, marched Eaſtward from Falkirk, to carry off what proviſions they could meet with. But, ſoon after their arrival at Linlithgow, Major General Huſke with the troops appeared near the ſame place. Upon his approach, the rebels retired towards Falkirk, without having been able to pick up any thing; and with ſuch precipitation that he could not come up with them; whereupon he took poſt at Linlithgow.——Other accouuts ſay, that the rebels carried off with them what forage and proviſions they could find.——Next morning, three regiments more marched from Edinburgh, for Borrowſtounneſs, to be at hand to ſupport Major General Huſke, The remainder of the troops marched on the 15th. The artillery, conſiſting of ten pieces of braſs cannon, followed the ſame day; as did General Hawley on the 16th, with Cobham's dragoons. This corps had come to Dalkeith a day before, and paſſed the city that morning without halting. Along with the army marched William Thornton, Eſq; with a company, called the Yorkſhire Blues, raiſed, maintained and commanded by himſelf; as did likewiſe ſeveral other volunteers; among whom were ſome clergymen.——The Earl of Hopeton gave twelve guineas to each regiment of foot, and twelve guineas to the two regiments of dragoons, to buy beef.——The Edinburgh regiment and city-guard were the only troops left in town.——On the 14th, the whole body of the rebels, as well thoſe who were driven from Linlithgow, as others who had marched out of Stirling, were all returning to that place in the greateſt panick and confuſion.

Major General Huſke, with eight regiments, marched from Linlithgow on the morning of the 16th, to Falkirk; where he was joined by 1000 Argyleſhire highlanders, under Lieutenant Colonel Campbell. Beſides this corps under his ſon, Major General Campbell had 1000 men in arms about Inverary, guarding the paſſes.

On the 17th the King's army and the rebels came to an engagement; of which there were ſeveral accounts.

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The first published was that sent to be inserted in the Edinburgh news-papers of the 20th, and is as follows.

" *Edinburgh, Jan.* 20. Thursday last, the army under General Hawley, having assembled near Falkirk, incamped to the Westward of that place; and about one o'clock on Friday, there were repeated informations of the intelligence that morning received, that the rebels were marching by the South-side of the Torwood, toward Dunipace. These accounts being confirmed, the army was immediately drawn up in form of battle, and marched forward to meet them.

The action began half an hour after three. The dragoons made the attack with the appearance of great resolution; but, upon receiving the first fire, reeled towards the right, and many of them fled. This, with a violent storm of wind and rain, which blew full in the face of the troops, put the foot of the left in great disorder.—This confusion being immediately perceived by the officers on the right, they, without loss of time, marched to stop the progress of the rebels: which they effectually did; and, by their good conduct, and the alertness of some corps, drove them, by a continued fire, from the field, with the utmost precipitation.

In the mean time the disordered infantry was rallied.—The rebels gave them nothing to do.—The right wing was entire masters of the field, where the whole of the troops continued till it was dark, and a full hour after all firing had ceased. But, finding that the rain had greatly spoiled their arms and ammunition, it was judged proper to pursue their advantage no farther; and, for want of provisions and ammunition, the army marched that night to Linlithgow, and continued its march next day to this city.

The loss of the regular troops, by the best computation, does not exceed 200; and by all accounts, the rebels have at least lost double the number.

The regiments who distinguished themselves, were Barrel's and Ligonier's foot."

It was then impossible to give a particular account of

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of the loss of the officers, as it was uncertain whether amissing killed, or in the enemy's hands.

The accounts published in the *London Gazette* were as follows, *viz.*

"*London, Jan.* 17. Lieutenant General Hawley having assembled all the King's troops together near Falkirk, in order to attack the rebels, and raise the siege of Stirling castle, that morning their army made motion, and advanced towards him; whereupon he made the necessary dispositions for receiving them, and marched to a place called Falkirk moor, about an English mile to the South-West of Falkirk, to give them battle. He was himself with the left wing, and Major General Huske with the right, which had greatly the advantage of the left wing of the rebels. At the beginning of the engagement the horse belonging to the artillery ran away, as did some part of the infantry in the same wing; General Hawley retreated in good order to his camp at Falkirk, as did Major General Huske with the right wing. The enemy did not venture to pursue them, which was greatly owing to the gallant behaviour of two squadrons of Cobham's dragoons, and four battalions of the right wing. There were about 300 of the King's troops missing, and some officers were killed, but the particulars were not yet known. The officers did their duty, and led the men on with great courage. There were seven pieces of cannon missing. The loss on the part of the rebels was not certain, but it was thought to be considerable. A very great storm of wind and rain arose in the beginning of the engagement, which, beating upon the faces of the King's troops, was very disadvantageous to them. After the retreat, General Hawley had determined to remain in the camp at Falkirk; but the weather proving extremely bad, and having advice that the rebels were pushing to get between him and Edinburgh, he marched and took post there.

We hear that the rebels were retiring Westward from the place of action towards Stirling."

"*Whitehall, Jan.* 23. This day at noon an express arrived from Lieutenant General Hawley, with letters

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of

of the 19th from Edinburgh, containing the following farther particulars of the action upon the 17th near Falkirk.

The whole army being assembled, and Cobham's dragoons being arrived early on the morning of the 17th, it was resolved to march the next day and attack the rebels: who, by all accounts, lay with their main body in the inclosures near Torwood. But, by the report of several persons who were sent out to reconnoitre, they were observed to be in motion early in the morning, (as they had also been the 16th): but it was not confirmed that they were in full march against us till about one in the afternoon; when they were seen at three miles distance, marching in two columns towards the South, to some rising grounds upon a moor near Falkirk. Upon which our troops got under arms, and formed immediately in the front of the camp, and bent their march towards the same ground to which it was apprehended the rebels were going, being a large mile on the left of the camp. No sooner were the troops got thither, but we saw the rebels moving up, their right extending Southwards. As there was a morass of boggy ground upon our left, so that their left was pretty near opposite to our centre. The dragoons were posted upon the left, and our foot was formed in two lines, part upon plain ground, and the rest upon a declivity. When all was formed, and our first line within 100 yards of the rebels, orders were given for the lines to advance, and a body of the dragoons to attack them sword in-hand. They accordingly marched forwards: but, upon the rebels giving them a fire, they gave ground; and great part of the foot of both lines did the same, after making an irregular fire; except the two regiments of Barrel and Ligonier, under the command of Brigadier Cholmondeley; which rallied immediately, and being afterwards attacked by the rebels, fairly drove them back, and put them to flight. Whilst this was transacting, a body of the foot, by the care of Major General Huske, formed at some distance in the rear of these two regiments; which the rebels seeing, durst not advance: and about the same

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time Brigadier Mordaunt rallied the ſcattered battalions into their ſeveral corps, in which he was greatly aſſiſted by the officers, and pretty near formed them.

For ſome time before the army moved forwards, there was a violent ſtorm of rain and wind; to which we may in ſome meaſure impute our misfortune; for it hindered the men from ſeeing before them, and conſequently the rebels had the advantage of us greatly in that particular. Beſides, as it rained alſo before that, many of the fire-locks were ſo wet, that it was believed not above one in five that were attempted to be fired, went off. Our loſs was very ſmall, the greateſt being that of the officers; ſeveral of whom, being left by their men, were loſt: and we have reaſon to believe that of the rebels to be very conſiderable, by the report of ſome who were upon the field. It was a misfortune that we could not get up our artillery to us: for as it had rained heavily in the night, and the 17th in the morning; and having a ſteep hill to aſcend, and the horſes but bad, they could not get forward: and when we returned to our camp, we found the Captain of the train had abandoned it, and the drivers had run off with the horſes; which obliged us to leave ſome pieces of cannon behind us. The grenadiers of Barrel's regiment drew down one to the camp, and horſes were found at Falkirk to bring away three of them.

The evening being exceſſive rainy, it was thought proper to march the troops to Linlithgow that night, and put them under cover; otherwiſe we ſhould have continued in our camp, being maſters of the field of battle, and Brigadier Mordaunt was ordered to take poſt there. When we came to ſtrick our tents, we found that many of the drivers had run off with the horſes: upon which the General gave orders, that what tents were left ſhould be burnt; which was done.

During the time the army was on its march to meet the rebels, a body of them, with ſome colours, paſſed the river of Carron, towards the right of the camp, with a deſign, as may be apprehended, to attack it: but the Argyleſhire

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Argyleſhire men, being poſted in front of it, kept them in awe, ſo that they prevented their advancing.

The Glaſgow regiment was poſted at ſome farm-houſes, where it was thought they might be of uſe when the action began; and remained formed there, notwithſtanding they ſaw that the dragoons had given way, and part of the foot.

Theſe letters alſo add, that it had been reſolved that the army ſhould remain at Linlithgow, whither it had retreated upon the 17th at night: but, upon examination, it was found that the troops had no powder that would take fire, from the exceſſive rain for twenty four hours before; and thereupon a reſolution was taken, upon the 18th in the morning, to march to Edinburgh and the places adjacent; where the whole army arrived that afternoon about four o'clock."

"*Edinburgh, Jan.* 19. The rebels, by all accounts, loſt many more men than the King's forces; and could not improve the advantages they had at the beginning of the action, but were driven back by, and fled before a handful of our army; and we remained maſters of the field; tho', by the inclemency of the weather, and want of proviſions, night coming on, our army was obliged to march to Linlithgow, and thereby abandon what cannon and tents they could not find horſes to carry off.

Part of the rebel-army were returned to Stirling, and the remainder were yeſterday night at Falkirk, and that morning they ſent to beſpeak quarters at Linlithgow.

Sir Robert Monro was wounded and taken priſoner.

Of the rebels, Lochiel, Lord Perth and his brother, were ſaid to be wounded, and Lochiel's brother was killed, and a Major, Mackdonald, taken priſoner."

Edinburgh, Jan. 20. As yet we have heard but of 30 of our men who were made priſoners by the rebels, and carried to Stirling; one half of which belonged to the Glaſgow Regiment: and we have alſo an account of three officers wounded. The others who were miſſing, it was feared were killed; particularly Sir Robert Monro, Lieutenant Colonels Whitney, Powell, and Biggar; tho'

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tho' as yet we have not abſolute certainty, and cannot form a liſt. 170 men, ſuppoſed to have been loſt, got on board a veſſel at Borrowſtounneſs, and came in here this day: The loſs of the rebels was, by all accounts, conſiderable; but the number of their killed and wounded was not known. The country-people about Falkirk report, that ſix people of note of their army have been buried in that neighbourhood, and many of their officers attended at thoſe funerals. Sullivan was ſaid to be one of their ſlain."

"*Edinburgh, Jan.* 24. Captain Thornton, who commanded the Yorkſhire voluntiers in the late action near Falkirk, and was taken priſoner by the rebels, with his Lieutenant and 17 of his men, has made his eſcape from them, and came in here yeſterday; as did alſo 25 of our ſoldiers, who alſo eſcaped out of the church at Falkirk. Moſt of the priſoners in the rebels poſſeſſion, were men of the Glaſgow regiment, and country-people who were preſent at the action out of curioſity."—Mr. Thornton was carefully concealed at Falkirk after the battle, and made his eſcape in diſguiſe.

On the other hand, the rebels boaſt of this action, as if they had got the victory. They printed the folowing gaſconading account of it at Bannockburn.

"*Falkirk, Jan.* 17. Early this morning, the Prince Regent (having left the Duke of Perth, with ſeveral battalions, to puſh on the ſiege of the caſtle of Stirling) drew up his army in line of battle, a mile Eaſt from Bannockburn, which was the head quarters; being informed that the enemy, who were incamped at four miles diſtance, a little below the town of Falkirk, were advancing to give him battle. But finding, about mid-day, they did not move, he reſolved, in a council of war, to march, and attack them. And immediately Lord George Murray marched at the head of the army in two columns, holding above the Torwood; as the high-road leading from Stirling to Falkirk, was too narrow. The army paſſed the water of Carron at Dunipace, the two columns keeping always an equal diſtance, of about two hundred yards. They were then in ſight of the enemy,

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enemy, being about two miles and a half distant. At the same time Lord John Drummond, who commanded the left wing, had gone with most of the horse, to reconnoitre the enemy, and made a motion, as intending to march the highway thro' the Torwood.

The two columns continued their march without the least stop, and went up the hill of Falkirk, to take the advantage of the wind and rising ground. The enemy were perceived to be in motion from the time we past the water, and were marching up the hill. Their cavalry, being in front, and a good way before the foot, had now taken possession of a rising ground opposite to our right, and within half cannon-shot; upon which we immediately formed, being betwixt three and four o'clock in the afternoon. As it was believed their foot were forming close behind them, orders were given by his Royal Highness for the first line to march softly forwards, (the second line keeping the usual distance), to drive them from that eminence; which was done accordingly, with the utmost regularity and exactness; for when they were within pistol-shot, the dragoons bore down towards us at the trot, in order to break us; then our men gave part of their fire so *a propos*, that they entirely broke them, doing great execution.

So soon as our men had fired, and charged their muskets again (which they did in their march), they advanced to attack the infantry: but the ground was so unequal, being interspersed with risings and hallows, that they could not perceive what was doing on their left, only heard the firing upon that side.

Our left not being fully formed when the attack began on the right, a considerable body of the enemy's horse came up also to attack them; but, receiving part of their fire, they broke and run off. Their infantry coming in upon that side with six piece of cannon*, were attacked by some battalions; who, receiving the fire of the enemy, went in, sword-in-hand, and drove them down the hill with great impetuosity and slaughter. But, not perceiving our right, (by reason of the unevenness of the ground

* The artillery never was got up.

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ground), they made a ſtop till ſuch time as the two wings ſhould join to the centre, and the ſecond line come up.

His Royal Highneſs, who was moſtly in the centre, (attended by the French Ambaſſador), and whoſe attention was turned to all parts, ſeeing that the enemy had outlined us on the left wing, ſent Brigadier Stapleton and the piquets of the Iriſh brigade, with ſome other troops, to take up that ſpace upon the left. Then the whole army marched down towards the enemy; who were retreating on all ſides in great diſorder: but, by reaſon of the unevenneſs of the ground, and night coming on, with great wind and rain, they could not overtake them, as they were poſitively ordered to keep their ranks. Had the enemy ſtaid a quarter of an hour longer on the ground, they muſt have inevitably been cut to pieces: however, they went off with the utmoſt precipitation; and were juſt got to the Eaſt end of the town of Falkirk, when Lord John Drummond entered on that ſide, Lord George Murray in the middle, and Lochiel in the Weſt end. Lord John Drummond was ſlightly wounded in the arm by a muſket-ſhot, at the end of the town, by one of the ſoldiers whom he was taking priſoner.

We took all their cannon conſiſting of two large ones, five field pieces, all of braſs, three iron cannon *, ſeveral mortars * and cochorns *, with a great number of ſhells *, all their ammunition, wagons, tents, (which we found almoſt all ſtanding, few of them having been conſumed by the fire which they had themſelves ſet to their camp), three ſtandarts, two ſtand of colours, a kettledrum, many ſmall arms, their baggage, clothing; and generally every thing they had not burnt or deſtroyed. We made above 700 † priſoners, beſides officers; and we reckon above 600 † were killed in the field of

L battle,

* Theſe articles were mentioned in no other account.

† 'Tis pity the publick has not been favoured with a liſt in the Gazette, as was expected, and is uſual on ſuch occaſions; for 'its probable the numbers here are exaggerated, even allowing many of the priſoners to have been country-people who were preſent out of curioſity.

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battle, beſides what we were told were drowned in fording the river Avon.

We had not above forty men killed on our ſide; among which were two or three Captains and ſome ſubaltern officers. There was near double that number wounded; amongſt whom was young Lochiel, on the ancle; but ſo ſlightly, that it did not hinder him from marching in purſuit of the enemy, to the town of Falkirk. His brother was likewiſe wounded.

His Royal Highneſs's firſt care, early next morning, was, to ſend up to the field of battle, to cauſe bury the dead, as well thoſe of the enemy, as our own people: and ſome of their officers, that could be diſtinguiſhed, (of which it is ſaid are Sir Robert Monro and Colonel Whitney), were brought down to the town, to be decently interred, in the ſame manner as our own officers were.

Had not the night come on, and ſo ſtormy, his Royal Highneſs's army would have got between them and Linlithgow, and would have utterly deſtroyed them. All the officers and private men behaved with invincible courage; and the order which they kept in their marching and attack, ſurpriſed even the officers who had been in the former and preſent wars abroad.

The Iriſh officers were of vaſt uſe, in going thrô' the different poſts of the army, and aſſiſting in the various diſpoſitions that were made."

An anonymous account related the action thus.

" On Thurſday, January 16. General Hawley, with ten pieces of cannon from 1 to 6 pounders, joined the King's army, incamped to the Weſt of the town of Falkirk. On Friday the 17th early the rebel-army were perceived, and their colours plainly diſcovered in the Torwood, about three miles Weſt of General Hawley's camp. They made a feint of marching by the North ſide of the Torwood, to attack the King's army; which was then, about eleven o'clock, drawn up in order of battle, ready to receive them. But the General, finding the rebels did not advance; and that their colours ſtill remained unmoved in the Torwood; and perceiving, as

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he thought, their main body ſtill there, he, about one o'clock allowed the troops to dine in their camp.

The General having ſome time after got intelligence, that the rebels had, under cover of the riſing ground, ſtole to the Southward, and were making directly, by Dunipace, to the top of the hill above the camp, and not then at a mile and a half's diſtance from it; he immediately ordered the three regiments of dragoons to march from the left as quickly as poſſible, to take poſſeſſion of the top of the hill; and in the mean time commanded the army to be formed a little to the South of the village of Falkirk, and ordered the cannon up the hill after the dragoons.

The young Pretender, perceiving the dragoons intention, detached about 1500 or 2000 of the clans, to prevent their taking poſſeſſion of the ground, and to form the right of his firſt line; which they very quickly did; the main body of the rebel army being ſtill a mile and a half behind.

It being now after three o'clock, and General Hawley not having got his cannon placed, or the army fully formed, he ordered the three regiments of dragoons, which had thus advanced from the left, to attack the detachment of the rebels, and keep them in play untill he got all in order. Which the dragoons very briſkly did: but, having received a very ſmart fire from the detachment of the rebels, and not being ſupported, were repulſed, and fled back upon the left wing of the troops, and put them in great diſorder. This being perceived by Lord George Murray and Lochiel, who commanded the ſaid detachment of the rebels, they very judiciouſly improved this advantage, came boldly down the hill, gave the left of the King's army a very ſmart fire in front and flank, threw away their guns, drew their ſwords, and broke them ſword-in-hand. Whereupon the whole front-line of the army, and all the rear line alſo, except Barrel's regiment, gave way; and the people that were driving the horſes of the cannon, cut the traces, dropt the cannon, and run quite away with the horſe; by

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which means all the cannon were left, except three of the ſmalleſt, which happened to be behind the rear-line.

Barrel's regiment in the rear of the right wing, and the Old Buffs and Ligonier's in the *corps de reſerve*, having never been attacked, and continuing in their ground, were by General Huſke formed into a line, and remained in that poſture for a conſiderable time, until thoſe of the rebels who were purſuing the left wing, were returning up the hill to the main body, which had not yet reached the field of battle. Then theſe three regiments fired by platoons upon ſuch ſmall parties of the rebels as were returning from the left. At laſt, a body of about 400 of the rebels thus returning, wheeled about, and advanced towards theſe three regiments; who received them with conſtant platoons. This body of the rebels, having no guns to return their fire, they having thrown them away at the beginning of the purſuit, were obliged to retire up the hill to the main body: from which there was immediately 800 detached to ſupport them. The three regiments perceiving this, retired immediately * to their camp, and ſoon after to Falkirk, and from thence followed the remainder of the army to Linlithgow that night; leaving the field of battle, ſeven of their cannon, their whole ammunition, their dead, wounded, camp and tents, with ſuch of their baggage as was in the field, to the rebels.

General Hawley returned next day to Edinburgh with the army. The rebels continued the night of the battle in General Hawley's camp, and town of Falkirk. A great number came next day to Linlithgow.

The King's army conſiſted of 12 regiments of foot, 3 of dragoons, 1200 Campbells, 1000 other voluntiers, and 800 trained Glaſgow militia; in all about 10,000.

There

* On the contrary, it appears by the Gazette account, that the rebels durſt not advance, and that the King's troops were maſters of the field of battle; ſo that it would ſeem this detachment of the rebels did not advance till the three regiments had retired.

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There was not above 2000 of the rebels engaged, and their main body never came fully in view †. It was said they had above 63 killed, and above 40 wounded. Major Mackdonald, cousin to Keppoch, who pursued the retreat too far, was the only prisoner. It was said there were betwixt 30 and 40 of the King's officers killed; and in that number Colonel Sir Robert Monro, Lieutenant Colonels Biggar, Powell, and Whitney, 14 Captains, and a great number of Lieutenants, Ensigns, and other officers. One Captain and two subalterns of the rebels killed, Lord John Drummond slightly wounded in the arm, and Lochiel slightly wounded in the heel."

The King's army was drawn up in two lines, and a *corps de reserve*. In the first line, four battalions, *viz.* the Royal Scots, Pultney's Cholmondeley's, and Wolf's. In the second line, five battalions, *viz.* Barrel's, Monro's, Fleming's, Price's, and Blakeney's; and the Glasgow militia on the left of all. In the *corps de reserve*, the Buffs, Battereau's. Ligonier's, and the Argyleshire voluntiers. On the left, three regiments of dragoon's, *viz.* Cobham's, Ligonier's, and Hamilton's, with the cannon."

The disposition here made of the King's army was very probably wrong. We have looked at different plans, and have reason to believe, that the position of the several corps in both armies, *(i. e.)* of the dragoons as they engaged, of the foot as formed when the dragoons engaged, of the rebels as they moved up the hill and engaged on the highest ground, of the party of the rebels moving towards the baggage of the King's army, and of the highlanders under Lieutenant Colonel Campbell drawn up to oppose that party, was as represented p. 126. The line of dragoons was pretty near due South and North: the front line of the foot was likewise

† The rebels, in their own account, acknowledge, that both their right and their left were engaged; so that, if any of their troops did not come fully in view, it would seem to have been only the second line of their left, for whose coming up it was indeed said that a stop was made.

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A morass.

KING's ARMY.

DRAGOONS.

Ligonier Cobham Hamilt. Wolfe Cholm. Pulteney St. Clair 1b. Price Ligonier

Blakeney Monro Fleming Barrel Batteran

Glasgow

FOOT.

Howard

Highlanders

REBEL ARMY.

Lovat 400	Cluny 400	Lochiel 3 b. 900	Appin 300	Clanronald 900	Keppoch 400	
Cromerty &c. 700	Farquharson &c. 700	L. L^s Gordon 900	Ogilvy 2 bat. 1000	Athol 2 bat. 1000.		

L. Jn Drummond

Young Pretender
450 horse

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ſtraight, it formed an angle at the South end with the line of dragoons, and inclined North East; the ſpace between the two lines of foot, widened towards the right. The two lines of the rebels are repreſented as parallel to each other, and likewiſe the King's army; but the left of their ſecond line was ſaid not to have come up. The left of the rebel-army did not ſtretch ſo far North by a good ſpace as the right of the King's, nor did the left of the King's army ſtretch ſo far South as the right of the rebels. Some place Glengary on the left of Clanronald, join Glenbucket with Appin, and with ſome other alterations make the number of the rebels 9260. In the numbers, we have followed the plan publiſhed by John Millan at London, February 1746, which makes them 8450; and even this is a good deal higher than what was ſaid, from the *Gazette*. The ſame plan makes the number of the King's army (including the highlanders under Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, computed at 1325, and the militia under the Earl of Home, computed at 1000) 15,545; which is certainly a vaſt deal too high.

Doctor Duncan Monro, phyſician, who went along with the army purely out of brotherly love, was unfortunately killed, with his brother Sir Robert, in the action.

Glengary's ſecond ſon, who commanded the Glengary men, was killed in Falkirk, a few days after the battle, by the accidental firing of one of the rebels pieces.

In the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* were the following two paragraphs, *viz. January* 21. "We ſhould have noticed in our laſt, that the regiment of Old Buffs was one of thoſe that ſtood firm in the late battle, and the laſt that left the field."—"*January* 23. We are obliged in juſtice to acquaint the publick, that the regiment of Brigadier General Price formed on the left of General Barrel's, and was one of thoſe that obliged the rebels to retreat with precipitation."

On the 19th a court-martial was ordered for the trial of ſome officers and men who behaved ill in the action at Falkirk, of which Brigadier Mordaunt was Preſident.

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The proceedings began at Edinburgh next morning, and the court sat several days. Some private men of the foot were condemned to be shot for cowardice.—Two centinels sentenced to be shot at Edinburgh on the 27th, for throwing away their arms, and running off before the action began, got a reprive the night before. Others who misbehaved, were severely whipped.

Francis Forbes of the Royal, John Irvine of Ligonier's foot, David Welch of Pultney's, and Henry Macmannus of Hamilton's dragoons, all Irishmen, were hanged in the Grass-market of Edinburgh on the 24th, pursuant to a sentence of a court-martial. The first three had deserted to the French in Flanders, and were taken on board the Lewis XV. coming to Scotland, the fourth had inlisted with the rebels after the battle at Preston.

The Pretender's son marched to Stirling on the afternoon of the 18th. That day the castle there was twice summoned by the rebels to surrender; once in the morning, and again in the afternoon: but General Blakeney's answer was, That he had always been looked upon as a man of honour, and that the rebels should find he would die so. The siege was therefore continued; but proceeded very slowly. General Blakeney fired so often upon the men at work on the batteries, and with so much execution, that the rebels could not get any of their own people to go near them; for which reason the Irish brigade, and Drummond's regiment from France, were ordered to go upon that service. But about this time, according to the report of deserters from the said brigade and regiment, there were not 200 men left of those who came over to Scotland from Flanders.

Mean time the rebels were in great distress for want of provisions. The 23 soldiers who escaped out of the church of Falkirk reported, that it was with the greatest difficulty they could get any provisions whilst they were in custody, the greatest part of what had been ordered for their use had been forced from them by those who were their guards. General Hawley distressed the rebels all he could, by sending out parties from Edinburgh towards the West; and the King's sloops burnt several of

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the

the boats which were employed in bringing over their meal, *&c.* from Alloa. On the 28th another ſloop (the Vulture, Captain Falconer) went up the Forth, with ſome cannon and foot on board, to be employed upon the ſame ſervice. The rebels however endeavoured to ſecure all the meal they could get in the country.

All the priſoners (except ſome officers) taken in the action at Falkirk, were ſent from Stirling to Down caſtle on the 25th, and upon the ſame day the baggage of the Prerender's ſon was ſent to Leckie houſe. The principal part of the rebel army then remained about Falkirk.

Hitherto the rebels, not having got their cannon mounted, fired on the caſtle only with ſmall arms from the houſes: of which they diſcharged ſeveral platoons on the 26th; but without doing any harm. General Blakeney had not at this time loſt one man of his garriſon; whereas the loſs the rebels ſuſtained by the firing from the caſtle was very conſiderable Seven French officers are ſaid to have been killed. But on the 27th they had two batteries erected; one at Gowan-hill within forty yards of the caſtle, and one at Lady's-hill. They gave out they ſhould have their cannon mounted next day, conſiſting of two pieces of eighteen pounders, two of ſixteen, and three of twelve.——A drum had been ſent round the town, with notice, that every perſon who was taken near the caſtle ſhould be ſhot; and that if any of the townſpeople entertained any of the wives or children of the ſoldiers who were in the caſtle, they ſhould be puniſhed with military execution.——Accordingly on the 28th they had three pieces of cannon mounted; which began to fire next morning.——The battery at the Gowan-hill was erected nder cover of wool packs. By the fire from it, the upper part of the walls of the caſtle was a little damaged.

All this while, General Hawley was preparing to march the army Weſt again from Edinburgh.—— Sempill's, Campbell's (the Scots fuſileers), and Bligh's foot, were on their march for Edinburgh before the action; and Mark Kerr's, St. George's, and Bland's dragoons, and the Duke of Kingſton's horſe were now ordered

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dered thither likewise. ——Sempill's regiment arrived on the 17th, and Campbell's in a day or two after. The military chest, from England, was brought in on the 21st, escorted by a troop of St George's dragoons, and lodged in the castle. Upwards of forty gunners and matrosses, with a train of artillery, consisting of sixteen pieces of brass cannon, and stores, from Newcastle, came in on the 26th.

Such of the prisoners taken by the rebels at Preston, as were at Perth, had been sent to Glammis before the end of December. ——These, with others at Coupar and Leslie, were delivered by armed parties of his Majesty's loyal subjects in the neighbourhood of those places, and carried by a detachment of said parties to Edinburgh; where they arrived on the 19th. The Gentlemen thus retaken were, Lieutenant Colonel Whiteford, of Cochran's marines: Lieutenant Paton, and Ensign Wakeman, of Guise's foot: Lieutenant Kennedy, and Ensign Archer, of Lee's: Major Talbot; Captain Leslie; Lieutenants Wall and Rae; Ensigns Sutherland, Lucey, and Birnie, of Thomas Murray's: Major Severn; Captains Collier, Barlow, Anderson, Corbet, and Forrester; Lieutenant Swiney; Ensigns Stone, Cox, and Goulton, of Lascelles's: Captain Monro; Captain Lieutenant Macnab; Lieutenant Reid; Ensigns Grant, Maclaggan, Mackay, and Campbell, of Loudon's: Quartermasters West and Young, of Ligonier's (formerly Gardiner's) dragoons.

The arrival of these officers at Edinburgh, was taken notice of in both the Edinburgh papers of the 20th; and, in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of the 23d, there was the following paragraph, *viz.* "We are well informed, that the officers made prisoners at the battle of Preston, and confined in the house of Glammis, Coupar, and Leslie, were forcibly hurried off by a great number of people in arms and disguised, whom they could not resist, and carried by the same violence to Edinburgh; and afterwards those at Pitsirren, Culross, and St Andrew's, were brought over by the same methods."

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These Gentlemen, however, seem to have been under some difficulty how to behave on this occasion. They did not dress like military men, till the beginning of February. About this time they put on their swords and cockades, by an order, as was said, from the King.

Some days after the army returned from Falkirk to Edinburgh, General Hawley sent for the officers of the Glasgow regiment; and, after thanking them for their past services, which he told them he would represent to his Majesty, he acquainted them, that as the time for which the town of Glasgow had agreed to subsist the regiment was then expired, and as his Majesty was to have, in this country, more than a sufficiency of forces to quell the present rebellion, he judged it his duty to dispense with their farther attendance, which was expensive both to the town and to themselves, and likewise a real loss to the country, by withdrawing so many useful hands from the manufactures. Upon which the officers unanimously assured the General, that they were willing to serve their King and country at their own expence, and that they would be ready at a call, whenever their attendance should be judged necessary, or in the least degree useful to the service. His Excellency afterwards received his Majesty's commands to thank said regiment. Being thus honourably dismissed, they went to their respective homes.

A French drum from the rebels came into Edinburgh on the 28th, with a message, as was said, to the commander in chief; but it was suspected his letters were not opened; for he was dismissed in a very short time.

Several of the men that came from France, deserted from the rebels.

Before the end of January, the Hazard sloop of war, taken a good while before by the rebels, sailed from Montrose, for France, as was at first supposed; but it was afterwards thought she had gone North about, in order to carry off the Pretender's son. About the same time a Spanish privateer arrived at Peterhead, with nine tun of gunpowder, three chests of money, and several chests

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of

of small arms on board; all which were presently landed, and the money and powder were conducted to Montrose by a party of the rebels. Captain Balfour (of Admiral Byng's squadron) afterwards took the privateer; but, not being able to get her out of the port, on account of her being neaped there by the tides, he proposed to burn her.

The time was now approaching when things in Scotland were to put on another face. The King having directed the Duke of Cumberland to repair thither, to take upon himself the command of the army there, his Royal Highness set out from London between twelve and one in the morning of the 25th, arrived at Edinburgh, attended by the Duke of Athol, and by the Earl of Albemarle and others officers, about three in the morning of the 30th. Here the news of this intended journey was received with the greatest joy; and there were extraordinary illuminations, bonfires, ringing of bells, *&c.* the evening of the 29th, in expectation of his Royal Highness's arrival. At this time, as on former occasions of the like nature, some irregularities were committed by breaking of windows.

Before the news came to Edinburgh of the Duke's intended journey, the necessary preparations had been made for marching the army Westward. At the late action, they had been greatly incommoded by a number of spectators; of which several thousands, from Edinburgh, Glasgow, and the country, were present. To prevent the like on this occasion, an intimation was made in the churches of Edinburgh on the 26th, to the same purpose with the following advertisement, which was next day published in the news papers, *viz.* "Whereas it has been found by experience, that the army's being followed by great numbers of idle or ill-designing people, is attended with very great inconvenience to it, and may prove fatal to themselves; and whereas the attendance of such great numbers upon the army, is not only a great incumberance, but consumes very much of the provisions and forage which may be necessary to support the army: these are therefore to give notice, that whoever shall

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presume

preſume to come within one mile of the army after its march from Edinburgh, without being duly furniſhed with a paſs from the Right Honourable Lord Juſtice Clerk, his Excellency General Hawley, or one of the General officers, they ſhall be puniſhed, and muſt blame themſelves if they be fired upon; excepting ſuch as bring proviſions and forage to the army, who are to be paid ready money for what they bring, to whom all protection is to be given; and excepting thoſe alſo whoſe information may be uſeful to the army.

Another advertiſement was publiſhed in the newspaper of the 27th, (which had been likewiſe intimated in the churches the day before, in the afternoon), *by the Honourable Walter Sandilands and Alexander Lind, Eſqrs. Lords Sheriffs of Edinburgh*, in theſe words. "Whereas we have juſt now received notice, that a regiment of dragoons are to be quartered in town tomorrow, and that other regiments are following; and whereas we are informed, that the common ſtables, and other ſtables within this city and ſuburbs, and the town of Leith, and precincts thereof, are much crowded with private perſons horſes, not in the ſervice of the government, or belonging to the military: theſe are therefore ordering and requiring the proprietors of ſuch horſes, inſtantly to remove them from the ſaid ſtables; with certification, if they be found remaining there this day by ten o'clock, they will be underſtood as left for the ſervice of the army, and will be employed accordingly."

Every thing being ready when the Duke arrived, his Royal Highneſs immediately gave the neceſſary orders for the march of the army. He received the compliments of the clergy, the univerſity of Edinburgh, the principal inhabitants of the city, *&c.* on the 30th. Early next morning the army marched, conſiſting of 14 battalions of foot, the Argyleſhire highlanders, Cobham's dragoons, and four troops of Mark Kerr's. Theſe laſt, and two of the battalions of foot, the Scots fuſileers and Sempill's, had not been at the late action. The artillery followed. Major-General Huſke led the van. Ligonier's and Hamilton's dragoons were ordered to

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patrole along the roads leading Weſtward from Edinburgh, in order to prevent any intelligence being ſent to or from the rebels. The Edinburgh regiment and city-guard were left in town, and ſome of the country-militia were brought in.——At nine in the morning the Duke ſet out. His Royal Highneſs paſſed thro', the city in the Earl of Hopeton's coach mounted his horſe without the city, and was ſoon up with the army.

Scarce any body doubted that there would have been an engagement on the firſt of February: but when all people were waiting with the utmoſt impatience to know the fate of the day, news came that the rebels fled precipitately on the approach of the King's army.—We ſhall give the accounts of this flight as publiſhed in two Gazettese xtraordinary, February 5. and 6. *viz.*

"*Whitehall, Feb.* 5. This day, at twelve o'clock at noon, an expreſs arrived from his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland, with the following letters."

A letter from his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland to the Duke of Newcaſtle.

Falkirk, February 1. 1745-6.

My Lord Duke of Newcaſtle.

IN my laſt, of the 30th of laſt month, I informed you of our intention to march to the relief of Stirling caſtle. When I wrote that, I hoped that the rebels, flushed with their late ſucceſs, would have given us an opportunity of finiſhing the affair at once; which, I am morally ſure, would have been in our favour, as the troops in general ſhewed all the ſpirit that I could wiſh, and would have retrieved whatever ſlips were paſt. But, to my great aſtoniſhment, they had blown up their powder magazines, and were retired over the Forth at Frew leaving their cannon behind them, and a number of their ſick and wounded, beſides 20 of our wounded priſoners taken at the late affair, which I have found here. I hope to be at Stirling to-morrow, from whence I ſhall be better able to inform you of all this ſtrange flight.

Brigadier

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Brigadier Mordaunt with the two regiments of dragoons, and Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell with the highlanders, are in purſuit of them.

I am your affectionate friend,

WILLIAM.

This moment comes in from Stirling a man, who ſays, Blakeney had put troops in the town, and that all the rebels had croſſed the Forth. I incloſe the beſt account for the preſent I could draw up.

A letter from his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland to the Lord Juſtice-Clerk.

Camp at Falkirk, February 1.

My Lord Juſtice-Clerk.

I Thought it proper to give you an account of what has happened ſince I left Edinburgh.

Yeſterday I marched from Edinburgh, with the army, in two columns, conſiſting of 14 battalions, the Argyleſhiremen, and the two regiments of dragoons of Cobham and Mark-Kerr; and quartered myſelf at Linlithgow with eight battalions at Borrowſtounneſs. The dragoons quartered in the adjacent villages, and Colonel Campbell with the Argyleſhiremen in the front, towards the Avon. A conſiderable body of the rebels was then at Falkirk, and ſome few of them appeared on the hills between that place and Linlithgow. They gave it out, that they intended to ſtand another action with the King's forces; but at the ſame time ſeemed very uneaſy for their baggage, which they were endeavouring to ſecure on the other ſide of the Forth. They were very much diſappointed at the defence General Blakeney had made in Stirling caſtle, and ſaid it was impoſſible for man to take it.

This morning early word was brought, that the rebels had retired to the Torwood, and intended to make a ſtand there; and that the reſt of them from Stirling would join them at that place.

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I reviewed the whole army this morning, before we marched; who were in the higheſt ſpirits. The advanced parties of the rebels retired with precipitation on the approach of ours, and our foremoſt ſcouts brought in ſome ſtragglers, who ſaid the rebels were paſſing the Forth in a good deal of confuſion; being afraid, as they ſaid, of another battle, becauſe of the increaſe of our ſtrength, and the great deſertion there had been amongſt the clans, which had much diminiſhed their numbers. On our march we heard two great reports, like the blowing up of ſome magazine; and it was ſoon confirmed to us; for the rebels had blown up a very large quantity of powder, in the church of St. Ninian's, before they went off.

On my arrival here, I found all our wounded men whom they had made priſoners in the late action, and in their retreat had been obliged to leave behind them. And I hear they have left their artillery at Stirling ſpiked up.

As ſoon as I came here, I detached Brigadier Mordaunt, with the Argyleſhiremen, and all the dragoons, in purſuit of them; tho' it was imagined that moſt of them will have eſcaped at the ford of Frew, as they generally make a good deal of haſte when they are going off. They have loſt a great many men at Stirling, and ſay it is all over with them, and they ſhall make to Montroſe. One circumſtance was particular, that Lady Kilmarnock, who till laſt night had always ſtaid at Callender-houſe, went off with them.

I propoſe to march to-morrow morning to Stirling, and there take meaſures for further quieting theſe parts of his Majeſty's dominions. *I am*, &c.

Lord Juſtice-Clerk's letter to the Duke of Newcaſtle, dated, Edinburgh, February 1.

My Lord Duke,

THE arrival of his Royal Highneſs the Duke has done the buſineſs, animated our army, and ſtruck the rebels with terror and confuſion. He loſt no time to improve

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improve these advantages, marched the whole army yesterday to Linlithgow and the adjacent places, and continued his march this morning to Falkirk; the rebels always flying before him. This morning the rebels renewed their fire against Stirling castle; but, General Blakeney continuing to make a good defence, they raised the siege, and have blown up their magazine of powder, and, as believed, have spiked their cannon, and the whole army of the rebels have fled with precipitation, and crossed the Forth at the ford of Frew; and his Royal Highness has sent on the dragoons and Argyleshiremen to take possession of Stirling, and remains with the foot this night at Falkirk. Wishing your Grace joy of this great and good news. *I am*, &c.

AND. FLETCHER.

Whitehall, February 6 Late last night another express arrived from his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, with letters, dated, Stirling February 2. giving an account, That his Royal Highness arrived there at one o'clock that afternoon, without meeting the least obstacle or resistance; as Brigadier Mordaunt had also done the night before, but too late to pursue the rebels. Their precipitate flight is not to be described. They were all to be at Perth the 2d; where, as their own men declare, they would not stay for his Royal Highness to come up to them. When the rebels heard that his Royal Highness was got to Linlithgow, they held a council, and drew out their men, declaring that they would meet him; but as soon as the baggage and the cannon they lately took were moved off, they told the country-people that they were going to meet a reinforcement; but that, as they could not carry away their plunder, they would give it to them; and that it was in St. Ninian's church; where they had made a magazine of powder and ball. And when the country-people went to take it away, the rebels attempted to set fire to the magazine; but fortunately the first train missed, so that several escaped: but

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the second was so soon fired, that many poor people were blown up, and buried in the ruins*.

After the rebels had crossed the Forth, many of the leaders told their men to shift for themselves. They talk of going from Perth to Dundee, and so on to Montrose; and his Royal Highness has sent proper orders to Rear Admiral Byng to prevent their getting off.

As soon as his Royal Highness can get the bridge of Stirling mended, he will follow to Perth, and so on whilst the rebels remain in a body. About twenty of their sick have been taken at Stirling; and Captain Fitzgerald, of Monro's regiment, and an Ensign of Lee's, were retaken.

His Royal Highness was pleased to commend extremely the behaviour of General Blakeney; who, by his conduct, as well as courage, has saved the castle of Stirling, which is a place of the greatest importance, from falling into the hands of the rebels. The castle would have held out; but the provisions and firing were almost consumed."

It was said, that, by the blowing up of the magazine at St. Ninian's, nine or ten country-people, and four or five of the rebels, were killed.

The rebels carried their prisoners along with them: but several of those confined in Down castle made their escape, and came to Edinburgh; as did likewise Major Lockhart, and Mr. Gordon of Ardoch; who prevailed upon the officer on guard, to let them escape, and to come himself with them to town. He was admitted to bail.

* So horrid and shocking an instance of barbarity, as was justly observed in one of the London papers, is rarely to be met with in history; especially when, in all human probability, it would do hurt rather than service to the wicked contrivers. We find indeed things on record no less extraordinary; but many of them were not believed. When an inquisitive man reads of an action remarkably inhumane, he will be apt to make some abatement; and the more so if he finds that the accounts have been writ in haste, or by people who had just cause of resentment against the actors. As these circumstances meet in the present case, it were to be wished we could give the evidence on which it is said, that a plot was here laid for destroying the poor innocent country people.

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ball. The rebels did not carry North the Glasgow hostages.

A fresh supply of about 120 horses from Newcastle, for the service of the army, came to Edinburgh the day it marched, and followed. The want of such for the artillery at the late action, was found to be a great loss.

Bligh's regiment came into town next evening, having been furnished with horses by the country-people, to expedite their march. That day Major General Bland arrived in town, and set out after the army next morning; as did likewise Sir Everard Fawkener, the Duke's Secretary, the Earl of Ancrum, and other officers.

The following account of the skirmish at Inverury was published in the London Gazette. "*Inverness, December* 29. The march of Macleod (about the middle of December) with the detachment of 700 men, without the Grants, (Mr. Grant of Grant, with 500 of his clan, had joined Culcairn, and marched with him to Strathbogie), who returned from Strathbogie, forced the rebels to retire to Aberdeen, and to send for a reinforcement from Montrose, Dundee, *&c.* They marched out of Aberdeen (again) on the 23d instant, with about 1200 men, so secretly, that they came up with Macleod at Inverury, where he lay with about 300 of his men, (the rest being cantoned in the neighbourhood at the distance of a mile or two), after four o'clock in the evening, without being discovered, till they were ready to begin the attack. Macleod however, and Captain Monro of Culcairn, got the handfull of men they had in the village immediately together; and, notwithstanding the surprize, and the great inequality of the numbers, maintained their ground for about 20 minutes, untill they had fired away the greatest part of their shot; and then made their retreat in so good order, that the enemy did not think fit to pursue them one yard." The rebels do not pretend that we lost in this scuffle any more than seven men killed, and 15 so wounded that they could not be brought off. Their own loss they took care to conceal, by burying their dead in the night time; but all the reports

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ports from that country agree, that it was much more considerable than ours. We have been obliged to retire to this side the Spey, to prevent surprises of the like nature, until we are reinforced. This affair has however retarded the rebels recruiting, and has forced them to detach from the South, which weakens them there.

Upon the 1st of February, the rebels retreated precipitately from Stirling on the approach of the King's army. It was reported, that they were so surprised, or rather infatuated, on hearing of the Duke's arrival, that they published a proclamation at Stirling, offering a reward to any that would discover the author of that damnable lie, that the person commonly called the Duke of Cumberland was arrived in Scotland. They forded the forth at Frew, and proceeded to Crief. Here the army divided, and marched in three separate corps; the clans, with the Pretender's son, by Tay bridge; a body of lowlanders, by Dunkeld; and the third corps, by Perth. They were entring this town in straggling parties on horseback from nine in the morning of the 2d till seven at night. Then Lord Lewis Gordon's, Lord Ogilvy's, and Sir James Kinloch's men, came in a body; as did the French piquets about nine. These last consisted of not above 100 men, and the whole amounted to about 1500. About 200 stragglers followed on the 3d. The same day came in from Crief 140 men, commanded by Mr. Robertson of Faskally, and Blairfetty, and brought in seven pieces of brass cannon and four covered waggons. Nineteen carts with ammunition had come in the day before. The persons of greatest distinction that came to Perth were, the French Ambassador, the Earl of Kilmarnock, the Lords Pitsligo, Elcho, Ogilvy, Lewis Gordon, George Murray, and John Drummond, Secretary Murray, Sir John Macleod and his brother, Brigadier Stapleton, Majors Nairn and Kennedy, and Mr. Mitchell. It was given out by the rebels, that their several corps were to join again, and to attack Lord London at Inverness; but this was thought to be said only with design to amuse people, for that they were actually disbanded.

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They made no ſtay at Perth. Even on the 3d, there went for Dunkeld ſeven pieces of braſs cannon, four covered waggons, and fourteen carts with ammunition, eſcorted by Lord Lewis Gordon's men. The ſame day, the main body of horſe and foot, conſiſting of the life-guards, Pitſligo's, Ogilvy's, and Sir James Kinloch's men, croſſed the Tay in a ſtraggling manner, and took their route for Montroſe by the way of Couper of Angus. Several of the above Gentlemen went with them.

On the 4th, the French piquets, about 100 men, commanded by Colonel Crichton, who lay in garriſon at Perth, and the 140 men commanded by Faſkally and Blairfetty, paſſed the river likewiſe; as did Lord Strathallan, Gaſk, Lord George Murray, and the remaining part of the Gentlemen above mentioned; excepting Secretary Murray, who went on the afternoon of the 3d to Lord John Drummond's at Fairnton, where the Pretender's ſon was obliged to be; and the French Ambaſſador, the Earl of Kilmarnock, Macleod of Raza, and another Gentleman, who went in a coach for Dunkeld. At Perth the rebels left thirteen pieces of iron cannon, about eight and twelve pounders, nailed up; and threw into the river a great quantity of cannon balls, and fourteen ſwivel guns that formerly belonged to the Hazard ſloop: but the guns were taken out again next morning. The ſailors of this ſloop, priſoners here, were ſet at liberty; but it was believed Captain Hill, the commander, and the priſoners of diſtinction taken at Falkirk, were carried North. About an hour after the rebels had evacuated Perth, which was between eleven and twelve in the forenoon of the 4th, a ſmall party of their rear from Crief marched through that town, and croſſed the river.

The van of the Kings army entered Stirling on the 1ſt of February: as did the Duke next day.—His Royal Highneſs was ſaluted by a triple diſcharge of the great guns of the caſtle, which he had ſo ſeaſonably relieved. As an arch of Stirling bridge had been broken down by General Blakeney's order, the army was obliged to ſtop till

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till it was mended. One Riddel was apprehended at Stirling as a spy, and hanged. He had one of the Pretenders passes in his pocket. This very person was sentenced by the rebels, when in Edinburgh, to be hanged, for robbery and horse stealing; but his sentence was afterwards commuted to whipping and banishment.

By six o'clock in the morning of the 4th, the arch of Stirling bridge was repaired, with timber mostly provided by the rebels for the same purpose; and that day the army passed over. The advanced guard, consisting of the Argyleshire highlanders and the dragoons, went on to Crief, and they were cantoned at and about Dumblain. Here the Duke lay that night, and next day reached Crief.——(A party released Sir Patrick Murray and Mr Griffith, who had been made prisoners by the rebels at Preston, and were on parole).—The advanced guard took possession of Perth on the 5th, and the Duke arrived there on the 6th. Thence two detachements, of 500 foot each, were sent forward: one to Dunkeld, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Sir Andrew Agnew, to which 120 Argyleshire men were added; the other, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Lighton, to castle Menzies, a mile North of Tay bridge. The main body of the army remained some days at Perth, in order to rest the foot after the great fatigue they had undergone. Here magazines of bread and forage were ordered to be laid in. The Duke of Athol crossed the Forth at Leith on the 4th, and was at Perth when the Duke of Cumberland arrived there.

About the beginning of February it was reported, that one or two more French ships had lately arrived at Peterhead, with money and military stores: of which, and of the flight of the rebels towards the East coast, intelligence was sent to Admiral Byng.

In their way to Perth, the army marched through some of the Drummond, Strathallan's, and other disaffected person's estates. There, as was reported the exasperated soldiers gave a specimen of what they would do, in revenge for the fatigues and hardships they had been

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been made to suffer, if they were at once let loose without controul.——A letter from Perth, February 6 says, "Our soldiers have made a kind of military auction, or publick sale, of household goods, cattle, sheep, hogs, *&c.* with what little silver plate they have been able to find in the houses of such Gentlemen as were with the rebels."——Another letter dated, Stirling February 13. says, "Our army, in their march from Stirling to Perth, has made search in several parties for arms, ammunition, *&c.* in several parts of the country, particularly at the house of Lord Strathallan. I cannot distinguish what they have found in the different places; but, in general, some parties of the Old Buffs have brought in some arms, forty five horses, which were sold for the benefit of the captors, and fifty-seven head of black cattle, which were ordered for the use of the army." Parties, it was said, went afterwards to the Eastward of Perth, to Fife, Athol, *&c.* and carried off effects out of rebels houses.

Several persons were taken up at Perth upon suspicion. The Duchess dowager of Perth was apprehended at Drummond castle, carried to Edinburgh by a party of dragoons, and committed to the castle there on the 11th. On the same day the Viscountess of Strathallan was committed to the same place; and, a few days before, upwards of sixty had been sent thither from Stirling castle, where some of them had lain since the month of September.

According to the best information they had at Perth on the 8th, the Pretender's son lay on the 6th at Blair of Athol, with a body of the rebels, not amounting, by their own account, to 1500 men, tho' it was the greatest number they had then any where together. A countryman who had been carrying baggage for the rebels, and who returned from Dalnachardich to Dunkeld on the 9th at night, gave an account, that, on the night of the 7th, about 1000 of the clans, 40 Gentlemen on horseback, 50 baggage-horses, together with all the prisoners carried from Falkirk, who were in a miserable condition, some wanting shoes and stockings, arrived at Dalnachardich,

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Dalnachardich, in their way Northwards; that on the 8th their artillery, with about 80 cart-load of baggage, was carried off from Blair, and that it was given out they were driving for Ruthven in Badenoch; that, in the afternoon of the same day, Lochiel and some other Gentlemen marched Northwards; that very few men remained about Blair, but what belonged to Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment; and that the pretended Prince, and a number of Gentlemen, continued at Blair on the morning of the 9th, when the countryman left it. All the men pressed out of the country about Dunkeld had by this time made their escape, and were returned home. The rebels continued yet to keep outguards as far as the pass of Killichranky.

Of the rebels that took the coast-road, the last left Montrose on the 8th at noon; and it was judged their route was for Aberdeen. All to the South of that town was then clear of them. It was generally thought the Pretender's son was at Montrose, a person having been brought into that town, and kept very privately the night of the 7th, and having moved off before day next morning. But the rebels gave it out at this time, that he was every day hunting and hawking about Blair. The party at Montrose consisted of about 100 Gentlemen, 50 of the life-guards, 20 hussars, and about 150 private men. Lord Elcho was with them. Lord George Murray lodged three miles from Montrose on the 6th; and the same day Lord Pitsligo passed by Brechin; and most of the common men, excepting those of the clans, went that road. There were not above twenty five of the men which came from France, that returned from Stirling; and ten of those staid behind at Montrose, in order to throw themselves at the feet of the Duke.

On the afternoon of the 9th, the Gloucester, and another ship of Admiral Byng's squadron, came to an anchor off Montrose. Advice was sent them, that the rebels had left the town, and marched Northwards to Aberdeen, except some small parties that still haunted about in the neighbourhood particularly at Stonehaven, a fishing town sixteen miles North of Montrose. Before the rebels left that place, they

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spiked up all their cannon, except six; four of which they imbarked on board two boats, to be carried to Aberdeen, to fortify the bridge of Dee, where they gave out they would make a ſtand againſt the King's troops. One of the boats ſailed with two of the cannon on the 8th, the day before the arrival of the two ſhips of war; and the other, upon their anchoring off the port, finding it impoſſible to get out, relanded her two cannon upon the beach. On the night of the 11th, the Firſt Lieutenant of the Glouceſter was ordered in, with two tenders manned and armed, to ſpike up thoſe two guns that lay on the ſhore, and two more that lay at the croſs, and to diſmantle all the veſſels that lay in the port in ſuch a manner as to render them incapable of going to ſea: which he accordingly effected. Mean time the town was every night alarmed with the return of the rebels, and there was no certainty when the Duke's troops would march that way; the commanders on board therefore thought it adviſeable, for preventing diſturbances, to order Captain Gore on ſhore, with 50 of his marines, to take poſſeſſion of the town, till his Royal Highneſs ſhould ſend a detachment to relieve him. The Admiral likewiſe intended, ſo ſoon as the weather would permit, to ſend the Saltaſh ſloop into the harbour; in order not only to ſecure a retreat to Captain Gore if the rebels ſhould return in numbers, but prevent any landing from the French in that harbour, if the King's ſhips ſhould be blown off by bad weather, or drawn off by chance. Admiral Byng watched the coaſt ſo cloſely, that it was impoſſible for the rebels to get off from Montroſe by ſea, which was judged to be the reaſon of their marching North.

By an account, dated, *Glouceſter, at anchor off Montroſe, February* 10. we have the following circumſtances relating to the Hazard. "The Hazard ſloop ſailed from Montroſe the 27th of laſt month, about three o'clock in the afternoon; and, by what we have been told from the ſhore ſince our being here, we are inclined to think that ſome body of note went off in her: for it is well known, that, between two and three on Monday morning the 27th, there came to Montroſe from

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Dundee a close chaise with two Gentleman in it, one of them much muffled up, and imbarked immediately; and no body was afterwards suffered to go on shore from her, or to go on board her: and great preparations were made of provisions of all kinds, and laid in before she sailed. And, from the wind she sailed with, we imagined she went directly for France: for it was contrary for her going to the Northward; and, the day after she sailed, we had a violent storm at North and North-west, which must have driven her away to the Southward if she had not been bound that way." She arrived at Dunkirk a short while after.——Captain Balfour, of the Bridgewater, burnt the Spanish privateer which he found in the port of Peterhead, having first taken out the Captain and 35 men. The Captain reported, that there were four or five sail more on their passage, with arms and ammunition, that were to go to some port on the West of Scotland; where he should have gone; but the weather proved so bad as to oblidge him to go North about, and his pilot brought him to Peterhead.

A body of the rebels which was at Aberdeen, marched thence on the 11th in three divisions, and took three different roads, all leading Northwards. They had no artillery with them, the two great guns sent from Montrose not having reached Aberdeen when they went off. Their baggage was sent away on the 10th. Lord Elcho, who seemed to be indisposed, with six horsemen, went Southwards, and passed at the bridge of Dee, two miles South of Aberdeen; but whether, was not known. All the artillery and ammunition landed out of the Spanish ship at Peterhead, had been sent Northwards. The town of Aberdeen was obliged to pay to the rebels 500 l. The number there did not exceed 2000, but it was impossible to get it exactly.

In the afternoon of the 8th, Prince Fredrick of Hesse, and the Earl of Crawford, with the Hessians, (between 4 and 5000, among whom were some hussars), arrived in Leith road, in four days from Williamstadt. The Prince, the Earl of Crawford, and some other persons of Distinction, went ashore that night; but the troops remained

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remained on board till the Duke's pleasure should be known, to whom an express was forthwith sent to Perth. The Prince lodged in Holyroodhouse. His Serene Highness was saluted, on his arrival, by the ships, and by the castle of Edinburgh; persons of distinction paid him their compliments: and he was entertained, during his stay, with balls, concerts of musick, assemblies, *&c.* In three or four days the troops were landed. Both men and horses looked well. The Duke of Cumberland made a trip from Perth to Holyroodhouse on the 15th; and having concerted the military operations with the Prince of Hesse, his Royal Highness returned next day to the army.

Lord Mark-Kerr, some time ago appointed Governor of the castle of Edinburgh, came to town on the 8th, and was received at the castle with the usual formalities.

About this time St. George's dragoons came to Edinburgh, and marched Westward; as did, afterwards, Kingston's horse, and parties of Mark-Kerr's dragoons, and of Johnson's foot.

On the 9th, Major General Campbell came to Perth, to meet the Duke, and brought with him four or five companies of Western highlanders. But it was resolved to send his Excellency back to the Western highlands; and that his son, with about 600 highlanders, should remain with the army, to go upon parties. As soon as the magazines of bread could be laid up, the army was to march Northwards by the coast, to be more at hand to send detachments into the hills, as it was impossible for the whole body to go that way.

Certain intelligence was brought to Perth on the 10th, that the rebels had retired from Blair, upon the detachments under Lieutenant Colonels Leighton and Sir Andrew Agnew taking post at castle Menzies and Dunkeld; and it was hoped they were fully prevented from forming a corps any more, as the King's troops would soon have possession of Blair, which was thought to be the first place where they could redezvous. The Duke of Athol published a declaration, requiring all his vassals to come

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to Dunkeld and Kirkmichael, and to join the troops ſent or to be ſent thither to diſarm and apprehend the rebels, on pain of their being proceeded againſt with the utmoſt ſeverity in caſe of refuſal. His Grace cauſed ſeveral ſuſpected perſons to be committed at Dunkeld; —and, in a Day or two, took poſſeſſion of Blair; where Sir Andrew Agnew, with 500 men, had taken poſt upon the retreat of the rebels thence.

By the 14th the Duke had ſent three battalions of foot to Coupar of Angus, and a regiment of dragoons to Dundee.

Lord Loudon had got together 2000 men at Inverneſs by the 11th, and was fortifying that town with a ditch, placing ſhip cannon at proper places, and laying in proviſions. His Lordſhip was daily expecting more men from the Earl of Sutherland, Lord Fortroſe, Lord Rea, the Monroes, and Sir Alexander Macdonald. The Lord Preſident had taken up his quarters at Fort George. One of the King's ſhips was then lying off Inverneſs. According to accounts, dated the 19th at Edinburgh, 200 Argyleſhire men were ſent to Fort William, to ſtrengthen the garriſon of that Place.

By theſe accounts, the rebel clans who took the Inverneſs road were much diminiſhed in their numbers; occaſioned, as they pretended, by their having detached away parties, to bring back deſerters, and to levy more men. There were 800 of them ſeen at Ruthven, with the Pretenders ſon; where they blew up the barracks, and then proceeded towards Inverneſs. Glenbucket, with about 300 rebels, and ſome cannon, had come to Ruthven on the 10th, and ſummoned the garriſon in the barracks to ſurrender. But Lieutenant Mulloy, (who before repulſed the rebels), tho' he had only twelve men under him, did not ſurrender till he obtained terms.

Intelligence came to Edinburgh on the 19th, that the Pretender's ſon was joined by thoſe parties of the clans who were ſeparated from him on the march, and that he had gone with them into Strathſpey, the country of the Grants, there to wait till joined by the other rebels from Aberdeen.——But accounts dated the 20th at

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at Perth, bore, that the ſmall party of the rebels that accompained the Pretender's ſon in his flight, and who burnt the barrracks of Ruthven, proceeded to Burmont, but were ſtopt from going any farther by the river Findhorn; that they had given over their threats againſt Lord Loudon and Inverneſs; that they were ſtarving with cold and hunger, and not more than 600 in number, tho' they gave themſelves out to be above 3000; that they talked of going into the Grants country, to revenge themſelves of that clan for taking up arms for the King; that the other party of the rebels, who had coaſted along, had all quitted Aberdeen except about 200, who were left there only to prevent intelligence, and had 60 of their huſſars out before them at Stonehaven; that the main body were all gone up Spey, and had found it ſo ſwelled by the rains and the thaw, that there were no fords for them to paſs; that the Earl of Loudon had drawn all the boats to the North-ſhore, ſo that there was hopes of hemming in that part of them; and that this party of the rebels were not in ſo bad a condition as the other, having been able to live well in the countries they had gone through.

By the 20th, the Duke had put the troops into motion from Perth in four diviſions; each of which was to have two days halt at Montroſe in their way to Aberdeen; at which place, and the neighbourhood of it, the whole were to arrive upon the firſt of March. The Scots fuſileers were left at Perth under the command of Major Colvil: Sir Andrew Agnew, with 500 men, was at Blair; and 200 at Caſtle Menzies, under Captain Webſter, to command Tay bridge. It was at this time intended to order the Heſſians to reimbark immediately for Flanders.

Letters from the Duke, dated the 25th at Montroſe, contain the following advices.

" They write from Aberdeen of the 23d inſtant that, on the 21ſt, a ſhip of about 150 tons burthen, with French colours, came into that road about ſix at night, and fired two or three guns: upon which the rebels ſent off a boat to her; which returned about eight, and

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brought ashore two officers; who after some consultation, went on board again, and carried seven or eight boats, with an intention, as it was thought, to land their men; but they returned empty; and the ship went off, as is said for Peterhead, and some people went from Aberdeen to meet them there. It is said the ship had money, arms, cannon and ammunition on board; but it seems was not to deliver up the money, but by some particular order of one Boyer whom they call a French Ambassador, and who is with the Pretender's son.——That, upon the 22d, about five afternoon, another ship came about from Stonehaven, of about 100 tuns burden, of no force, and anchored in the road of Aberdeen, and between eight and ten at night landed about 130 men, including five officers. They were cloathed in red turned up with blue. They also landed a parcel of saddles, and some horse furniture, and some horsemen's arms and breast plates. Many of them are English and Irish. They carried nine or ten cart and twenty pack loads of baggage with them. Upon the 23d they marched, from Aberdeen, as did all the other rebels that were then there, partly by Old Meldrum, which is twelve miles distant, and partly by Newburgh, which is the road to Peterhead. Those that marched from Aberdeen last, were commanded by Moir of Stonywood, being about 100, including parties they were to get in, and about 50 horse whom they call hussars, under one Colonel Baggot, a Frenchman. Those who landed from the French ship report, that there sailed five ships in all from Dunkirk, and that the other three ships were larger, and contained more men, and could not be far from the Scots coast."

Lord George Murray, with those under his command, were to have marched from Elgin on the 18th and 19th of Feb. Lord Ogilvy's men, and some others, being about 450, marched from Aberdeen on the 18th, and on the 17th the men from Cromar and Braemar, said to be about 250, marched from Cromar. The Strathbogie foot marched also by Clat to Strathbogie the highway.

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The number of them was not certainly known, but said to be about 250.

They were also raising some men at that time in Buchan and Banffshire, in their way north.

Advices from the Northern parts mentioned, that, on Sunday the 16th, the main body of the rebels were within fourteen miles of Inverness, but had then an advanced party the length of the water of Nairn, four miles South of Inverness; where Lord Loudon's advanced party from Inverness met them, and a small skirmish happened, but of no consequence. That on Monday Lord Loudon's people retired to Inverness, and that day the rebels advanced within two miles of that town; that thereupon Lord Loudon, finding he was not able to defend the town, crossed the bridge on Tuesday, and, by the ferry of Kessack, got over to the shire of Ross; and that very day the rebels got possession of the town of Inverness. However a proper supply of men was put into the castle; and Major Grant the Governor was determined to hold out as long as possible. That those rebels who went by Aberdeen, all crossed the Spey upon Thursday last; except Lord Ogilvy and his men, who were that night at a village called Keith, within six miles of the Spey, and were supposed to be by that time at Inverness. And that they had published an order, declaring it death to any who should convey letters to, or correspond with the friends of the government.

Further accounts from the neighbourhood of Inverness said, that the rebels were attempting to form a blockade from the town of Inverness, in order to mount their cannon upon Thursday last, and that the garrison were firing very briskly upon them. It was added, that the Lord President's house had been plundered.

Upon these advices, and the possibility that the rebels might attempt to slip again into the low lands; as also the different accounts received of troops coming from France, of which one transport was actually disimbarked, and five of them in all expected, the Duke countermanded the reimbarkation of the Hessians, and ordered the transports to proceed immediately to

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Shields

Shields, to take on board the Dutch troops, and to ſail with a ſufficient convoy to Williamſtadt, and, after having landed the ſaid troops, to return to Leith. His Royal Highneſs alſo wrote to Prince Fredrick of Heſſe, to march immediately four battalions to Perth, and two to Stirling. St. George's dragoons to be cantoned at Earn bridge; and the remains of Ligonier's and Hamilton's dragoons to be cantoned at Bannockburn, near Stirling. With this cavalry, which will be left under the command of the Earl of Crawford, the Prince of Heſſe will have a ſufficient corps to deal with the rebels, ſhould they attempt to avoid the Duke by going South, or to attack the poſts at Blair, Caſtle Menzies, *&c.* and Bligh's battalion are to hold themſelves in readineſs to march; his Royal Highneſs propoſed to be at Aberdeen the day after to morrow; and, upon advice of the arrival of the French ſhips on this coaſt, diſpatched on Sunday the Hound ſloop, which was in this port, Northward, in queſt of them, with orders to go to Aberdeen and Peterhead, and further North, if by any intelligence there ſhould be encouragement to come up with any of them; and the Glouceſter appearing off this harbour yeſterday, the like orders were ſent to the Captain of her.

Other accounts from Aberdeen made the main body of the rebels, which marched for Inverneſs, amount to 4000 men or more.

With regard to the rebels getting poſſeſſion of Inverneſs, we had the following particulars in a letter from Lord Loudon to the Duke, dated the 22d, *viz.* "On Sunday the 16th the rebels lay within eight miles of Lord Loudon at Inverneſs. Upon which his Lordſhip marched out with 1500 men to beat up their quarters, and got half way undiſcovered; when a detachment which he had ſent to prevent intelligence, going a nearer road, contrary to orders, fired about thirty ſhot at four men; which alarmed the country, and threw the body along with Lord Loudon into confuſion; during which a great many of his people diſperſed; ſo that it was neceſſary to march back to Inverneſs. From whence his Lordſhip would

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would have joined the Duke; but the rebels changing their ſituation made that impoſſible: and his Lordſhip finding himſelf at the ſame time unable to defend the place with the numbers that remained with him, threw two of the independant companies into the caſtle, with a ſufficient quantity of proviſions; and having put on ſhipboard what arms and ammunition could be ſpared, on Tueſday at twelve marched out of Inverneſs, and croſſed the ferry at Keſſack without the loſs of a man, tho' the rebels were in poſſeſſion of one end of the town before he left the other. From thence he croſſed into Cromarty, in order to have it in his power to croſs the frith of Murray, and join his Royal Highneſs in caſe his army had been ſo far advanced; but the rebels approaching, obliged him to croſs at Tyne, in order to put himſelf behind the river in a defenſible poſt."——Lord Loudon and the Lord Preſident were at Balnagown on the 22d, waiting the Duke's orders.——Fort George, the caſtle of Inverneſs, in which there was a company of Grants under Rothemurchus, a company of Macleods, and 80 regular troops, ſurrendered to the rebels on the 20th. Here they got 16 cannon, with ammunition, 100 barrels of beef, and other proviſions. Hence they ſent a detachment with two of the largeſt cannon towards Fort Auguſtus.

Purſuant to a ſentence of a general court-martial, Captain Koningam (who had the command of the train at the battle of Falkirk), was brought to the head of the artillery, at Montroſe, on the 24th; where his ſword was broke over his head, his ſaſh thrown on the ground and himſelf ordered to quit the army, for cowardice and miſbehaviour in the action.

The firſt diviſion of the King's army reached Aberdeen on the 25th, and the reſt of the army in a day or two after. Here the Duke was waited upon by the Noblemen and Gentlemen in the neighbourhood. Mr. Grant of Grant junior offered to bring out 600 of his people armed as ſoon as the army was ready to march. The day after his Royal Highneſs came to Aberdeen, he detached Lord Ancrum with 100 dragoons, and Major Morris

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Morris with 300 foot under his command, to a caſtle at the head of the river Don, 40 miles from thence, called Corgarf, and ſituated in the heart of the rebellion, in order to get poſſeſſion of a quantity of Spaniſh arms and powder which were lodged there. His Lordſhip took them without reſiſtance, the rebels having quitted the caſtle upon his approach; but as they had driven away the horſes of the conntry, he was forced to deſtroy moſt of the arms, and 30 barrels of powder.

On the 28th the Duke received advice, that the rebels had publiſhed a paper, importing, that they propoſed to lie ſtill till the ſpring, and then to aſſemble a great army of highlanders, and make a freſh irruption; that Sir James Grant's people were in arms for the King, headed by his ſon Mr. Lewis, who, wirh 300 of his men was within eight miles of Aberdeen; and that Captain Dyves, of the Winchelſea, had deſtroyed the dogger which lately landed the French ſoldiers, with ſaddles, &c. at Aberdeen.

Letters of a later date from Aberdeen bore, That within a few days they would have a recruit of 500 men from Edinburgh and England, beſides Bligh's regiment, which was coming by ſea; that as the Heſſians were moving towards Perth, the Scots fuſileers were to march North; that Kingſton's horſe were within a march of Aberdeen: That, by the laſt and beſt accounts of the rebels, Lords Lewis Gordon and John Drummond were at Gordon caſtle, on the South of the Spey, with about 100 men, juſt to cover their quarters; that the main of their body which they gave out to be 2000, was on the North ſide of that river, making ſhew of intrenching themſelves, tho' they had but two pieces of cannon, and thoſe without carriages, which they coaſted along from Montroſe; that the Pretender's ſon was ſtill at Inverneſs, with 3 or 4000 of the clans according to their own reckoning, ſo it was thought, if a ſtand was made at all, it would probably be there That the King's army moved but ſlowly, being obliged to carry a magazine of all ſorts of proviſions with them; and that their march to Inverneſs would take ſome days to form,

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as that of the highlanders, of whom they were to have a conſiderable body, was to be concerted at the ſame time.

On the 22d, four companies of the Argyleſhire militia arrived at Dumbarton, in their way to Inverary, and were to be followed next day by General Campbell, with four companies more, in order to prevent the rebels penetrating into that ſhire, or their being joined by any of the diſaffected in thoſe parts.——A letter from Fort William ſays, that on the 15th, George Macfarlan of Glenraloch, a Lieutenant of the Argyleſhire militia, was, in the preſence of many ſpectators, ſhot dead within a gunſhot of that fort, by three of the rebels; that a party purſued them three miles without coming up with them; but that, in their return, they burnt the houſe of one of the murderers.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* we had the ſubſtance of an account of the battle of Falkirk, ſaid to have been ſent by the rebels to their friends abroad, and printed at Paris, Madrid, and Rome.

"——After a compleat victory, gained by 8000 over above 12,000, we remained maſters of the field of battle; but, as it was near five o'clock before it ended, and as it required time for the highlanders to recover their muſkets, rejoin their colours, and form again in order, it was quite night before we could march; and beſides, having no tents nor proviſions, the rain fell, and the cold ſharp wind blew with ſuch violence, that we muſt have periſhed had we paſſed the night on the field of battle; and as we could not return to our quarters without relinquiſhing the advantages of the victory, our Prince reſolved, tho' without any cannon or guides, and in the moſt amazing darkneſs, to attack the enemy in their camp: and tho' the ſituation of it was very advantageous, and fortified by ſtrong retrenchments, their ſoldiers were ſeized with ſuch a pannick on our approach, that they durſt not ſtay therein, but fled towards Edinburgh, having firſt ſet fire to their tents. They had the ſtart of us by an hour and a half; and ſome troops which they had left at Falkirk, diſputing our

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our entrance, gained them another hour; ſo thar our cavalry being but poorly mounted, could not come up with them. Hence it was, that in a flight in which 5 or 6000 priſoners might have been taken, we did not make above 600, only 250 of which were regular troops. They had 600 men ſlain, 2 thirds whereof were horſe and dragoons; but we know not exactly the number of their wounded. Our wounded are not above 120, and our ſlain only 32, officers included. We have taken 7 pieces of cannon, 3 mortars, 1 pair of kettledrums, 2 pair of colours, 3 ſtandards, about 600 muſkets, a large quantity of granadoes, 4000 weight of powder, 28 waggons laden with all kinds of military ſtores, tents for 5000 men, and all the baggage that eſcaped the flames. Among their officers that fell are 5 Colonels, 2 Lieutenant Colonels, and almoſt all the chiefs of their highlanders and militia. On their arrival at Edinburgh, a great number of their principal officers were tried by a court martial; among others, the commander of the artillery; who, to prevent his ſentence, cut an artery*. Our Prince, who at the beginning of the engagement had been conjured, for the love of his troops, not to expoſe himſelf, was in the ſecond line of the piquets; but as ſoon as the left was thrown into ſome diſorder, he flew to their relief with an ardour that was not to be reſtrained. In the diſpoſition of his troops he followed the advice of the Lord George Murray; who commanded the right wing, and fought on foot during the whole action at the head of his highlanders. Lord John Drummond commanded the left, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf extremely. He took two priſoners with his own hands, had his horſe ſhot under him, and received a ſlight wound in his left arm with a muſket-ball. We ſhould likewiſe do juſtice to the valour and prudence of ſeveral other officers, particularly Mr. Stapleton, Brigadier in his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's army, and commander of the Iriſh piquets; Mr. Sullivan, Quartermaſter-General of the army, who rallied part of the left wing; and Mr. Brown, Colonel of the guards, and one

* True; but it did not prove mortal.

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one of the Aid de Camps, formerly of Major Lally's regiment."

About the beginning of March, the Heſſian troops, with their artillery, *&c.* moved from the neighbourhood of Edinburgh for Perth. Their route was by Stirling. The Prince, the Earl of Crawford, *&c.* left Holyrood-houſe on the 5th, and were that night at Hopeton-houſe. By the 10th, they had their head quarters, with the greateſt body of their troops at Perth. Thence his Serene Highneſs took a tour Northward, by Dunkeld, Taymouth, *&c.* to reconnoitre, and returned to Perth on the 15th. Naizon's annd Hamilton's dragoons marched about the middle of the month, by the ſame route the Heſſians had taken.

Purſuant to an order from the Duke the Heſſian tranſports, about thirty four in number, ſailed from Leith road on the 2d, for Shields, with their convoy, the Gibraltar, Sheerneſs, and a bomb-veſſel. They took on board the Dutch troops, and arrived with them in Holland about the end of the month.

On the 5th, Bligh's regiment imbarked at Leith, and ſailed next day for Aberdeen. They were ſeveral times put back by contrary winds, and did not reach the deſtined port till the 25th. Two days before, 300 men belonging to different regiments had arrived at Aberdeen by land.

According to letters from the Duke, of the 9th, from Aberdeen, the rebels ſtill pretended they would defend the paſſage of the Spey. Lord John Drummond, who was chief of thoſe in that part of the country, with the remains of his regiment, and a few French horſe lately landed, was at Gordon caſtle. Their low country people, whom they ſet at 3000, were at Elgin, Fochabers, and other places on both ſides the Spey. They were intrenching themſelves, and preparing heriſſons and crow feet to ſpoil the fords; and they gave out that the clans were coming behind them. The Pretender's ſon himſelf was come to Elgin and was then very ill there. The day before his arrival at that place, ſome people unknown were ſhipped off in a ſmall fiſhing veſſel

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at

at Portſoy, which little harbour was ſtill in the power of the rebels. As to the other body of the rebels, the laſt accounts were, that after taking poſſeſſion of Inverneſs and the caſtle, (Fort George), they ſent one party over the frith of Murray after Lord Loudon; that another, of about 4 or 500, with the French piquets, were gone to Fort Auguſtus; that theſe had taken the old barracks, and expected to take the caſtle in a few days; that the number of the rebels was daily increaſing; and that the Pretender's ſon, as they gave out, would go himſelf to the iſle of Sky, to raiſe men there. Among many reports concerning the increaſe of the rebels, one was, That Lord Lovat joined them with 700 men; another, That a private Gentleman having publiſhed a ſcheme, for tranſporting the diſaffected highlanders to America, to prevent any future inſurrections, this Lord procured a copy of it, tranſlated it into the Iriſh language, ſhewed copies of it up and down the country, told the people the Duke was coming to put the ſcheme in execution, and admoniſhed them to riſe, and defend their liberties, properties, wives, and children; and that they ſeemed determined to follow his Lordſhips advice. But neither of theſe by authority.

Mean time the diſpoſition and cantonment of the King's army were ſo contiguous, that there was no reaſon to apprehend any ſurprize. The whole of the infantry was within the towns of Old and New Aberdeen; and as ſoon as a great ſtorm of ſnow, which fell on the night of the 8th, was a little off, it was propoſed to march. Three King's ſhips were cruiſing in the narrow frith of Murray, which it was hoped would effectually prevent any attempt that might be made by the French of aſſiſting the rebels at Inverneſs.

The Duke of Gordon arrived at the head quarters at Aberdeen on the evening of the 9th, from his own houſe, which he had left the day before on foot, and in the moſt ſecret manner he could, the rebels who lived upon his eſtate having conſtantly watched his Grace ever ſince they had been there.

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At Forfar, where each of the four diviſions of the King's army lay a night, three French officers were concealed during the whole time; and after all the troops were paſſed through, they were permitted to beat up for voluntiers there. Upon information that ſome rebels, and, amongſt others, Roy Stewart, were concealed in Aberdeen, the Duke ordered ſearch to be made for them; but they were not found.——A deſign was formed at Montroſe, for the country people to come down and reſcue the rebel priſoners; but fortunately Kingſton's horſe being there, prevented the affair. The priſoners were thereupon ordered under a guard to Stirling.—And upon Bligh's regiment being imbarked at Leith for Aberdeen, ſome diſaffected perſons formed a deſign to riſe up, and break the priſon-doors at Edinburgh; whereupon Lee's regiment was ordered to march thither from Berwick.——The truth of this was doubted at Edinburgh.

'Tis added in the above letters from the Duke, that his Royal Highneſs had ordered Lord Loudon to come and join the army with all his highlanders; and that the Monroes, Sutherlands, and the reſt of the well affected Northern clans, had joined his Lordſhip, and would come with him. Four companies, conſiſting of 310 men, beſides Serjeants, Corporals, and Drums, joined him from the Earl of Sutherland. According to accounts from Aberdeen of the 19th, however, his Lordſhip was ſtill at Dornoch in Sutherland.

About the beginning of March an order was publiſhed by the Duke, and read from the pulpits, commanding all thoſe who had been preſſed into the rebellion, forthwith to deliver up their arms; and promiſing to recommend to the Royal mercy ſuch as ſhould comply. But 'tis ſaid that the diſaffected induſtriouſly put a bad conſtruction on his Royal Highneſs's merciful deſign; and that tho' ſome had therenpon complied, yet that others had fled, and joined the rebels.

Copies of a paper were brought to Aberdeen which was printed, and diſperſed all over the highlands, by the rebels, containing the reaſons of their retreat from

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Stirling. In it they say, That after the battle of Falkirk, a great part o their men desired to carry home the booty they had got there and in England, and promised to be back again before the King's forces could possibly be recruited, and come again and attack them: that they accordingly went, but not being come back when the King's army set out from Edinburgh, they thought it more prudent to retreat to Blair of Athol, than to hazard a battle: and that the reason of their retreating still further North, was, that tho' they had taken from the King's army upwards of 1000 tents at Falkirk, yet they could not prevail on their men to make use of them, who chose rather to lie in the open fields, in their usual manner, notwithstanding the severity of the weather; that their leaders foresaw this must be very prejudicial to their healths, and therefore ordered them to retreat to Inverness, till the weather became more favourable; and that they would come South again, and make the uprightness of their cause appear.

In the West we find that early precautions had been taken for the security of Fort-William. General Campbell threw into it upwards of 300 Argyleshire men, with a good engineer; and ordered the Serpent and Baltimore sloops to that station. Fifty men of Guise's regiment, who had been gathered together at Edinburgh under the command of a Captain-Lieutenant, and some other troops were likewise ordered thither. These precautions soon came to be of use. By the 14th, the Duke had received the following accounts, dated the 4th, at Fort William. "We have advice here, that a party of the rebels amounting to 1000 men, is at Glenevis, within two miles of us; and that their train of artillery is to be to-morrow at Highbridge, which is six miles from this fort. We heard of their taking of Fort Augustus, and expect to be attacked; but Governor Campbell is determined to defend the place to the utmost of his power. For some days past there have been some small parties of rebels posted on each side the narrows of Carron; in which on Saturday last they took one of the boats belonging to the Baltimore sloop, as she was coming

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ing from Scalleſtall bay, and ſent the crew priſoners to their head quarters. As ſoon as we had intelligence of this accident, a council was called conſiſting of land and ſea officers, and a reſolution taken to ſend a ſtrong party to diſlodge the rebels. In conſequence thereof, early that morning Captain Aſkew of the Serpent ſloop ſent his boat with 27 men in it, another boat of the Baltimore's with 24 men, and a boat belonging to Fort William with 20, down the narrows; where they all arrived by day-light. Captain Aſkew's men landed firſt, and were immediately attacked by a party of 80 rebels, who fired upon them, without doing them any damage; and upon the reſt of the men belonging to the boats coming up, the rebels fled. Our people purſued them, burnt the ferry houſes on both ſides of the water, and a little town with about twelve houſes in it, a quarter of a mile diſtant from the ferry-houſe on the North-ſide, and deſtroyed or brought off all their boats. Two of the rebels were killed in this affair, and ſeveral wounded. It was very lucky that our boats went down as they did; for there was a boat with a party of militia in it, that was coming hither from Stalker caſtle, which would probably have fallen into the hands of the rebels, but for the ſkirmiſh before mentioned"——Captain Fredrick Scott came from Dunſtafnage to Ellanſtalker caſtle on the 6th; but could not get any farther, the rebels having guarded both ſides of the narrows of Carron for two miles on that ſide Fort William. On the night of the, 6th, the centries at Ellanſtalker ſaw ſeveral lights, which were thought to belong to the rebel parties marching towards Fort William from Strathappin, which is near the rock on which Ellanſtalker caſtle ſtands, and Appin houſe is not a mile from it.

General Campbell having got notice at Inverary, that the rebels had taken the Baltimore's boat, and hearing that they had likewiſe poſſeſſed themſelves of the paſs of Ardgour, ſo that nothing could paſs to or from Fort William, his Excellency cauſed put four ſwivel guns, with ammunition, *&c.* on board the Victory wherry, with an officer and 16 men, and a like number on board the

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the Hopewell sloop, and sent them round. They sailed accordingly on the 8th.

Advice was received at Inverary the 11th, that the French, which were judged not to be many, had come up to Fort William with the artillery on the 7th and 8th; and that they proposed to have a battery made ready to play on the 10th. But by letters from Captain Scott, who had thrown himself into Fort William, dated the 15th, the rebels had not then begun the siege, but were bringing up their artillery for that purpose. Four gunners sent by the Duke from Aberdeen, passed through Glasgow on the 19th for Fort William; and next day came into that city from Edinburgh two companies of Johnson's foot, designed as a reinforcement for the same place. Letters from Inverary give an account, that one of the companies had marched from that town on the 28th, and would be next morning at Dunstafnage, where they had wherries ready to transport them to Fort William. 'Tis added, that a deserter informed, that there were not above 5 or 600 of the clans and 300 French before Fort William; that on the 22d they began to fire with six four-pounders and two eight-pounders, and talked of playing some great guns in two days after; and that Governor Campbell had bravely defended the place, and, in order to prevent the rebels sheltering themselves near the fort, had caused burn the town of Maryburgh.

As the rebels could not cut off the communication by sea, the garrison was plentifully supplied with provisions from Inverary. The siege was however continued till the 3d of April, and then raised. An officer in the fort gives the following compleat journal of it.

"On the 24th of February this place was blockaded by the rebels, who they say were 1500, including the French piquets. Brigadier Stapleton commands the siege. Lochiel commands the highlanders, consisting chiefly of his own clan, the Macdonalds of Keppoch and Glenco, and the Stewarts of Appin.

From the 24th February to the 20th March they kept every day firing, tho' at a considerable distance. On the

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the 20th, they bagan to raiſe batteries, and that night threw in a great many coehorn-ſhells of ſix inches diameter, and above inch thick in the ſhell.

21ſt, They began to cannonade from a battery of 3 guns, and that night threw in betwixt 60 and 70 more of theſe ſhells upon us.

22d, They ſent a French drum with a ſummons to ſurrender. He was not admitted into the garriſon, nor his credentials looked at. On his return, they plied us hard all that day with their cannon and betwixt 10 at night and 3 next morning, they threw in from one battery of 5 and another of 4 coehorn-mortars, no leſs than 190 of theſe large ſhells. Theſe batteries are about 200 yards diſtance from the walls.

23d, They cannonaded us very cloſely this forenoon; but, in the afternoon, we made a triple diſcharge of 9 of our cannon, and 2 bomb-mortars, which ſilenced them.

24th, This morning they began again their cannonading from their firſt battery, which they continued on the 25th and 26th.

27th, They unmaſked a ſecond battery of 4 guns on the high ground above the Governor's garden, not above 200 yards diſtant; from which, and the other, they have fired 250 ſhot, beſides a continued fire of ſmall arms from the neareſt battery. The ſhot from their cannon were two thirds of them ſix pounders. They threw in 50 more of their royals on us, but did us no further harm than wounding 2 men.

28th, They cannonaded us hard all this forenoon. In the afternoon they were ſilent; but were buſy erecting a new battery about 200 yards higher than their ſecond battery, and to the Weſt of it, to ſweep our whole parade.

29th, This morning, by break of day, they unmaſked a new battery at the Craigs, of 3 braſs four pounders, within 100 yards of the walls, and cannonaded us from that and the other 3 batteries. As they carried a furnace along with them, they threw in a great many hot bullets, and ſome bearded pieces of iron a foot long, and

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and inch thick, which they deſigned ſhould ſtick in our timber work, and ſet us on fire. They fired grape and partridge ſhot, and plied us hard from all hands with ſmall arms; but have done us very little damage.

30th, They cannonaded us hard from day-light till night, and continued throwing a few ſhells and hot bullets, ſome of which, after lying ſome time on the ground, could burn powder.

31ſt, Captain Scot having ordered 12 men out of each company, amounting in all to about 150 men, to make a ſally, they marched out about 11 o'clock to the Craigs, about 100 yards from the garriſon, where the rebels had a battery; which, after a ſmart fire, they ruſhed in upon, and made themſelves maſters of 3 braſs four pounders, 2 mortars, and their furnace, being the ſame they took from Sir John Cope at Preſton. They ſpiked up 2 large mortars, which they could not bring away, with 1 braſs ſix pounder, which they brought under the walls. They had all this time a warm ſkirmiſh with the rebels, and loſt only 2 men, and had 3 wounded. We brought in 2 priſoners, one of them a French gunner.

April 1ſt, This day they cannanoded us, but not very hotly.

2d, They continued cannonading, but not ſo briſkly as uſual. At 10 at night they threw in 17 ſhells, and fired 7 cannon, and gave over about 1 o'clock in the morning. This play was only to amuſe us while they were ſpiking up their largeſt cannon, and carrying off their ſmall ones.

3d, This forenoon, ſeeing no men about their batteries, and obſerving bodies of men travelling by the tops of the hills towards Fort Auguſtus, we made a ſally with about 500 men, but found the works abandoned. We took the reſt of the cannon and mortars, and brought them to the fort; ſo raiſed the ſiege glorioufly, and have taken, in all, 4 braſs four pounders, 9 mortars, and their furnace; and ſince the commencement have only buried ſix men, and have about 24 wounded. The roofs of the houſes, and ſome of the rooms within, had ſuffered a good deal by the ſhells; which were ſo heavy,

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that

that they often went down from the roof to the ground before they broke. It seems they had got a very pressing call elsewhere, since they did not take time to carry off their artillery, or even to hide them, which might have been easily done.

We razed down their batteries, which were prodigiously strong, some of them being 27 foot from the front of the embrazure to the other side.

Other accounts said, that the men who sallied out on the 31st were in two parties, one commanded by Captains Foster and Maclachland, the other by Captains Paton and Whitway; that the former attacked and took the battery at the back of the craigs; that in another attack, made upon a four gun battery at the foot of the hill, the King's troops were repulsed, with the loss of two men killed and a few wounded; that their retreat was made in good order, under cover of the guns of the fort; that they carried in two prisoners, one an Englishman, the other a Frenchman, or rather a Spaniard; that this last gave an account, that the besiegers were half starving, and beginning to run short of ammunition; that the rebels lost a considerable number of men, not only in their flight from the craigs, but in the second attack; that the Governor was wounded, but not dangerously; that the town of Maryburgh and garden-walls were all levelled with the ground; that the garrison were 600 in number, all in good spirits, and were reinforced on the 1st of April by 70 of Johnson's regiment; that the roofs of the fort were exceedingly damaged, and the old pile of barracks almost quite beat down, both roof and walls; that there were not six panes of glass remaining in the windows; and that Captain Scot had been indefatigable, both by night and day, in erecting new works.

All this while, General Campbell was very busy at Inverary, in preparing to oppose the rebels in case they should move that way.—It was said, about the beginning of March, that all the men in Argyleshire able to bear arms, were assembling at that place, and that two additional companies of the Scots fusileers who lay at Dumbarton, were likewise ordered thither; about the middle

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middle of the month, that there were then 1500 men there, and 300 more expected in a few days; and about the end of the month, That Maclean of Brolus had joined them with a company of his clan, and that the General had put the place in a good posture of defence, having ordered 12 pieces of cannon thither from Greenock.

By some accounts from Argyleshire, twenty six villages in Morven and places adjacent, possessed chiefly by the Camerons, were burnt by a party sent ashore from the sloops of war on the West coast. This had as was reported, produced a kind of manifesto by Lochiel and Keppoch in which they exclaim against the Campbells, for burning houses and corn, killing horses, houghing cattle, stripping women and children, and exposing them to the severity of the weather in the open fields; threaten to make reprisals, if they can procure leave from their Prince, by entering Argyleshire, and acting there at discretion, and by putting a Campbell to death (of whom several had lately been made prisoners in Athol) for every house that should afterwards be burnt by that clan; extol the lenity and moderation of the rebels, notwithstanding the aspersions industriously spread to the contrary; and insinuate, that those who gave orders for the burning, could not answer for it to the British parliament.

With regard to affairs in the inland parts of the country, the Duke had received pretty sure intelligence at Aberdeen, by the 14th, that Fort Augustus was fallen into the rebels hands; and that the garrison, consisting of three companies of Guise's regiment, (140 men,) were made prisoners of war. It was not at that time known how they had defended themselves, as no accounts of what passed had been got, either from Major Wentforth, who commanded, or any other officer of the garrison. Other advices said, that the place was invested on the 23d of February, the third day after the rebels got possession of Fort George; that the garrison defended themselves two days; but that their powder magazine taking fire, they were obliged to surrender. According

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cording to the above accounts from Aberdeen, of the 14th, the rebels were laying in their magazines and ſtores at Fort Auguſtus; and had blown up Fort George; in doing which, their Chief Engineer, Colonel Grant, was killed. It was thought, that all the advantage they could gain by the taking of thoſe two forts, and the retreat of Lord Loudon, would be, the drawing the ſeat of the war into the hills, and protracting it a little time. The only junction they gained there, was ſome few of the Mackenzies, headed by the Lady Seafort. The Lord of that name, however, and the Laird of Macintoſh, were both with Lord Loudon; but the wife of this laſt was likewiſe in the rebellion.

As to what happened to the South of this, by advices of the 4th from the Duke of Athol, the party of the rebels then neareſt to Blair was at Dalnaſpeedal, twelve miles to the North of it; from whence to Inverneſs they were in poſſeſſion of the whole country, and guarded the paſſes ſo ſtrictly, that there was no getting any certain intelligence about them: Sir Andrew Agnew, with his 500 men, continued at Blair; and his Grace had ſent a party to Mar, and retaken the young Laird of Invercauld, who was at his fathers houſe upon parole, having been made priſoner at Preſton.——Beſides the garriſons of regular forces at Blair and Caſtle Menzies, there were about 200 Argyleſhire highlanders in different parties; one at the foot of Rannoch, under the command of Glenure; others at Blairſetty, three miles Weſt of Blair. At two in the morning of the 17th, theſe out-parties were all ſurpriſed by the rebels, about half a dozen killed, and the reſt taken priſoners, except a few that eſcaped. This corps of the rebels conſiſted of Macphersons, Macintoſhes, and ſome Athollmen, in all about 700, under the command of Lord George Murray. They marched from Ruthven only on the 16th. At Dalnaſpeedal, ſmall parties were detached to the three places above mentioned, and Lord George with the main body marched directly for Blair. He arrived at this place, and the three detachments at thoſe to which they were reſpectively ordered, all about the ſame time, ſo

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as none of the Argyleſhire parties could warn another of their danger. In the evening, two of the rebels cannon, four-pounders, arrived at Blair; with which they began to play on the morning of the 18th; but did little hurt, other than damaging ſome parts of the roof. Sir Andrew Agnew, with his men, were blockaded in the caſtle; and guards were poſted by the rebels at both ends of the paſs of Killichranky, and at all other places and avenues leading to Blair. The rebels were highly inraged againſt the King's troops, becauſe ſome of their houſes in Athol had been plundered; and ſeveral of the country-people, that had been formerly forced into the rebellion, and were returned home, joined Lord George upon his coming among them at that time. Beſides, the fiery croſs was ordered thro' all places where they went, by which every man betwixt ſixteen and ſixty years of age was required to appear, on pain of the ſevereſt military execution. It was certain that there were parties of them at Dunkeld and Invar, and ſome ſaid at Nairn houſe, which is but five miles from Perth.——The rebels were at that time in ſeveral large bodies and ſmaller parties from the Weſt to the Eaſt ſeas; about 1500 at Fort William, Camerons, Mackdonalds, Appin Stewarts, and ſome French; much the ſame number after Lord Loudon to Roſsſhire; the Gordons and lowlanders upon the Spey; and the Maepherſons, ſome of the Macintoſhes, and Atholmen, in Athol: ſo that tho' there was ſcarce 2000 in any one place, yet they could all join in three days.

On the news of the rebels endeavouring to force the caſtle of Blair, two Heſſian battalions that had been left at Stirling, marched to Crief on the 19th; and on the 24th, thoſe at Perth, conſiſting of four battalions, moved Northward, incamped that night at Nairn-houſe, next day 600 of them marched to Dunkeld, as did the reſt on the 26th, and two battalions from Crief were to incamp at Tay bridge on the 27th. From the 26th to the 31ſt the Heſſians continued at Dunkeld. At that time their huſſars and the outſcouts of the rebels exchanged ſome ſhots; but without any hurt on either ſide, other than

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the

the wounding of one huſſar. On Monday the 31ſt 500 Heſſians, with St. George's dragoons, marched and incamped at Dowallie, four miles from Dunkeld, on the road to Blair. Next day they proceeded to Pitlochrie, which is but ſix miles from Blair. St. George's dragoons and the Heſſian huſſars, commanded by the Earl of Crawford, and accompanied by the Duke of Athol, were a good way before the foot. At Pitlochrie an advanced party of the rebels drew up in order of battle to oppoſe the King's troops. Lord Crawford drew up his men likewiſe, ſent orders to the foot to haſten their march, and diſpatched an expreſs for a reinforcement from the Prince, who was at Dunkeld. His Serene Highneſs immediately ordered 500 men to march; which they did accordingly, and incamped on the Tueſday night at Dowallie. But the rebels, before the foot were come up to Lord Crawford, retired; and making a ſmall compaſs, poſted themſelves at the eaſt end of the paſs of Killichranky, about four miles from Blair. Lord Crawford with the dragoons remained at Pitlochrie on Tueſday night; but the Heſſians were recalled to Dunkeld; and accordingly the whole were returned thither early on Wedneſday morning. Mean time, inſtead of guarding the paſs of Killichranky, the rebels quitted that poſt on Tueſday night, and retired to Blair; whence on Wedneſday morning, they proceeded Northward by Drumuachker, General Wade's road. On notice of this, the Earl of Crawford, with a party of dragoons, marched, and arrived at Blair caſtle on Thurſday at five o'clock in the morning. His Lordſhip was followed by the Duke of Athol, and both were received by Sir Andrew Agnew. The Prince of Heſſe ſet out from Dunkeld for Blair on Friday, with all the cavalry and huſſars, and was followed by 1000 foot. Having ſtaid a day or two at Blair, the troops returned to Dunkeld, and from thence the whole of them marched to Perth.—Sir Andrew Agnew's conduct was highly applauded. The garriſon were ſo reduced, that they had nothing to live upon but horſe-fleſh for ſome days before the rebels left

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the country. 'Tis said the hussars were guilty of irregularities in Athol.

A letter from Athol gives the following account of the siege of Blair castle. "It gives me some pain, to observe that your news-writers have taken so little notice of the gallant defence made by the garrison at Blair. The rebels, by marching all night, concealed their design so well, that they were within two miles of Blair before the garrison had any notice of their being nearer than Badenoch. How soon they got intelligence, they with great alertness carried their sick from one of the office-houses near the castle, and took in their horses, with what forage and fuel was at hand. Afterwards Sir Andrew Agnew drew up his men before the castle, and kept them under arms for some hours, offering the rebels battle. But they were too wise to attack the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Scots fusileers, whose bravery they were no strangers to. When Sir Andrew perceived that they kept themselves behind park-dikes, he drew his men into the castle, and made proper dispositions for standing a siege. All Monday the 17th of March, being the first day of the siege, there was little firing. The rebels paraded round the castle at a great distance, endeavouring to make their numbers appear as great as possible. Early on Tuesday morning they began to play upon the castle with two pieces of cannon, a four pounder and a three pounder. But observing that no impression was made upon the wall, they pointed their cannon at the roof, and did a good deal of damage, especially after they began to throw red-hot bullets, of which they threw a great many: but such was the alertness of the garrison, that their carpenters were ready to cut out the bullets where-ever they stuck, and to throw them out, or cool them in water. The rebels, after having thrown 207 cannon-bullets, of which 185 were red-hot, and done a good deal of damage to the roof and wainscotting, sent off their cannon to Dalnachardich, so as not to retard them in case of a retreat; which they began to think of in good earnest when the Hessians approached. The Earl of Crawford, at the head

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head of the dragoons, and a detachment of the Heſſians, having advanced to Pitlochrie on Tueſday the 1ſt of April, the rebels quartered there formed, to give them battle. Lord Crawford formed on the other ſide. On this the rebels retired; with deſign, as they gave out, to decoy the troops into the paſs of Killichranky. But miſſing their aim in this, and dreading leſt Lord Crawford ſhould ſteal a march upon them thro' the hills above Moulin, hearing likewiſe that there was a detachment marching from Tay bridge by Kynichan; therefore, for fear of being incloſed, they decamped on Tueſday night, and marched off with great precipitation for Badenoch, after having almoſt ruined the poor country they pretended to deliver, eating up the little meal that was left by the many parties who travelled thro' it that year.——After Sir Andrew Agnew had been a week ſhut up, he found means to ſend off two men from the caſtle; who, about twelve at night, made their way through the rebel-guards, and reached Perth next day before two o'clock in the afternoon, after having fetched a terrible compaſs round the hills.

It was obſerved above, that a body of the rebels had gone after Lord Loudon.——A ſmall party of his regiment was ſurpriſed, and taken priſoners, ſome few excepted, who made their eſcape by flight. The particulars are thus related. "The rebels having collected a number of fiſhing boats at Findhorn, and two other ſmall places in the Murray frith, put four men on board each, and, by the favour of a thick fog, which laſted eight days, coaſted round Torbotneſs to Tyne in Roſsſhire, where a body of their men lay. There they imbarked, to the number of 12 or 1500, under the command of the Duke of Perth, the Earl of Cromertie, and Clanronald; and on the 30th of March, at eight in the morning, they croſſed the ferry, and landed on the Sutherland ſide, about two miles Weſt of Dornoch, where 200 of Loudon's regiment were cantoned. On notice of the rebels landing, 140 of Loudon's men retired Eaſtward. The other 60 were ſurpriſed, and made priſoners; among whom were the Major, Mackenzie, Captains, Sutherland of Forſe, and Mackintoſh of that illk, and

 Adjutant

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Adjutant Robert Grant. Lord Loudon had left Dornoch that morning about five o'clock, and gone Weſtward, to reconnoitre the different paſſes where the reſt of his men were ſtationed; dreading nothing from that quarter, as he had carried all the boats over to the oppoſite ſhore, and judged it impracticable to bring any from the Murray frith, three ſhips of war being ſtationed there." Advice was received that Lord Loudon, the Lord Preſident, the Laird of Macleod, &c. with about 800 men, had got ſafe into the iſle of Sky; that General Campbell had ſent them a ſhip with proviſions; and that they were ſoon expected at Dunſtafnage, to join the Argyleſhiremen.

To return now to Aberdeen: By putting together all the intelligence got about the middle of March, it ſeemed pretty clear, that there were then few or none of the clans in Murray, or on that ſide the country; and that all the rebels then on the Spey, and which had made ſome ſhew, were the lowlanders, and the greateſt part of the French.

Major-General Bland marched from Aberdeen on the 12th to Inverury and Old Meldrum, one march towards the Spey, with the battalion of the Royal Scots, Barrel's, Price's, and Colmondeley's, Cobham's dragoons, and Kingſton's horſe, having the Campbells before him, with the Laird of Grant and 100 of his followers.

Advice was ſent to Aberdeen from Stonehive on the 14th, that a doggar and ſome other veſſels appeared off the coaſt, which they took to be French.

The Duke having received intelligence on the 16th, that Roy Stewart was at Strathbogie, with about 1000 foot and 60 huſſars, ſent Colonel Conway with orders to Major-General Bland, to attempt to ſurpriſe them, and if he ſhould not ſucceed in that, to attack them; and his Royal Highneſs ordered Brigadier Mordaunt, with four battalions (the Scots fuſileers, Brag's, Monro's, and Battereau's) and four pieces of cannon, to march by break of day next morning to Old Meldrum, in order to ſuſtain Major-General Bland, if there ſhould be occaſion. Accordingly Major-General Bland marched on the 17th towards

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towards Strathbogie, and was almoſt within ſight of the place when the rebels had the firſt notice of his approach. Upon which they abandoned the town, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation towards Keith. General Bland's van-guard puſhed their rear a good way beyond the river Deveron: but as the night was coming on, and the evening was wet and hazy, his Excellency ordered the troops to quit the purſuit. Notwithſtanding which, the voluntiers, *viz.* the Marquis of Granby, Colonel Conway, Captain Haldane, and ſeveral others, continued to purſue the rebels at leaſt two miles; whoſe panick was ſo great, that it was concluded they would not halt long in a place till they had paſſed the Spey. The Campbells, who had the van, behaved extremely well; as did alſo Kingſton's horſe, and in general all the troops. It was reported from among the rebels, that Roy Stewart was killed by a ſhot he received from one of Kingſton's men;—or, according to other accounts, wounded in the arm.

A Captain of highlanders, whom General Bland detached with 70 highlanders and 30 of Kingſton's men, to Keith from Strathbogie, was ſurpriſed (on the night of the 20th) and loſt his whole party, except a Cornet, five men and two horſes of Kingſton's, and one highlander, who made their eſcape. The rebels (about 400) marched from Fochabers in the night, ſurrounded Keith, and entered at both ends. As the Campbells lay in the church, and defended the church yard for above half an hour, during which there was very briſk firing, it was not doubted but the rebels paid dear for this advantage. Captain Campbell, a ſerjeant, and five private men of the King's troops were killed.

By the 26th, the King's army were divided in three cantonments; the whole firſt line, conſiſting of ſix battalions, Kingſton's horſe and Cobham's dragoons, under the command of Lord Albemarle and Major General Bland at Strathbogie, within twelve miles of the Spey; the reſerve, conſiſting of three battalions, with four pieces of cannon, under the command of Brigadier Mordaunt, at Old Meldrum, half way between Strathbogie

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and Aberdeen; and the whole second line, consisting of the six remaining battalions, (Bligh's having been then arrived), and Mark Kerr's dragoons at Aberdeen. About this time, the advanced parties of the rebels and of the corps at Strathbogie were within a mile of each other every night; their scouts and reconnoitring parties exchanged some shots; and, for fear of a surprise, the troops were kept under arms several nights successively, being obliged to take what sleep they could get, in the day time.

According to letters from Aberdeen, of the 26th, certain intelligence was received, that the Earl of Airly, father of Lord Ogilvy, was raising his men, to join the rebels; and orders had been sent him by the Duke, to desist from such treasonable practices. This, however, his Lordship did not comply with; and therefore Captain Hewett, with 100 recovered men who were coming up to the army, were sent to take possession of his house, and to make him prisoner in it, until his people should bring in their arms, and behave as good subjects: which soon had some good effect, as a number thereupon brought in their arms. (The Earl soon after went to Edinburgh). 'Tis added, that his Royal Highness had also ordered Major La Fausille, with 300 men, to go to Glenesk, one of the most rebellious parts, to attack all whom he found in arms against the government, and to burn the habitations of such as had left them, and were with the rebels.——A letter from Brechin said, That they would certainly have been swallowed up, if the Duke had not been so good as send this detachment to their assistance; for that one David Ferrier, an old smuggler, had, with a small party of the rebels, taken up his quarters in Glenesk; had sent down parties almost to the very ports of Brechin, and carried off men, horses, arms, *&c.* and had raised about 200 men in Glenesk and Glenprosen: That Major La Fausille made a trip to Edzell, burnt the meeting house of Lethnet, and laid two or three of the richest Jacobites under a small contribution; that he next paid Lord Airly a visit, traversed Glenprosen and Clova, and there took some greater freedoms; that he burnt or destroyed all the

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meeting

meeting-houſes where-ever he came; that it coſt ſome pains to ſave Gleneſk from being burnt from end to end, being a neſt of Jacobites; and that theſe meaſures, with ſome threats had the deſired effect, all having ſubmitted, and partly delivered up their arms.

By the beſt accounts at that time, there were few or none of the rebels left upon the Spey ſide, and they were removing all their magazines to the Northward of the Chain (a name given to the road leading from Inverneſs to Fort William) into Caithneſs. Some priſoners that made their eſcape from them reported, that they were in the utmoſt diſtreſs for proviſions, inſomuch that the raw green kail from the farmers yards were looked on as a feaſt.

A party of the rebels came to the Earl of Findlater's houſe at Cullen on the 27th, with an order from the Pretender's ſon, to burn the houſe, unleſs his ſteward and tennants immediately paid the ceſs and levy that they demanded.—Other advices ſaid, that they rifled the houſe.

Several deſerters that were come into Aberdeen on the 21ſt, confirmed the intelligence formerly received, that the rebel-army were in great want of money, having had no pay for ſeven days before. They were endeavouring to imbark their lowlanders, and force them to paſs the Murray frith into Sutherland; but 200 of Stonywood's men, whom they were attempting to imbark at Findhorn, deſerted.

Letters of the 26th from Kirkwall in Orkney gave an account, that a New-England ſhip, commanded by one Captain Sinclair, of 14 guns, ſome ſwivels, 150 ſmall arms, and about 10 barrels of gun-powder, loaded at Newcaſtle, had put into Stromneſs on pretence of her being unable to proceed in her voyage to Boſton, and was there ſeized by ſix highlanders and ſix Orkneymen, aſſiſted by the Captain; who it ſeems had a correſpondence with the rebels, and with a Gentleman in the Orkneys of known attachment to them. The crew fled, and the mate made his eſcape.

The Hazard ſloop, taken by the rebels in November laſt, and called the *Prince Charles Stewart*, which had been of great uſe to them, was retaken. She was drove

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aſhore

ashore at Ostend by two English privateers, and thought to be destroyed; but being afterwards repaired, she sailed; and, being an excellent sailor, escaped the vigilance and pursuit of six or seven English ships that were cruising off that port to watch her. On the 24th of March, she was descried by four English ships at anchor off Troop head. On sight of them she bore away. Thereupon the Sheerness, Captain Obrian, cut, gave her chace quite though Pentland frith, about 50 leagues, kept a running fight for two hours, and at last run her aground in Tongue bay. Here they landed their men late in the evening of the 25th, and came to a Gentleman's opposite to Tongue. Lord Rea's militia, and about 100 men of Lord Loudon's regiment, with the Captains, Alexander Mackay, Sir Henry Monro, young Macleod, and Lord Charles Gordon, two subalterns, and the Surgeon, all left by Lord Loudon in Sutherland when he went to Sky, were at this time not far from Tongue. Lord Rea, on notice of the landing of the men, sent a boat with proper persons to get intelligence of their numbers, &c. On whose return, it was concerted by his Lordship and the officers, immediately to conveen as many of the men as lay neareſt, and to run expresses to such as were at a greater distance, with orders to join them with all expedition. About 50 of Loudon's men, and the like number of Rea's, marched by break of day, and in two hours came up with the French; who had forced a guide to lead them off in the night. The French drew up, and being attacked made several fires: but the highlanders, after discharging their firelocks, attacked them sword-in-hand. Thereupon the French, having five or six men killed, and as many more wounded and seeing Captain George Mackay coming up with a reinforcement of fresh men, surrendered. They were carried prisoners to Tongue, and the same night put on board the Sheerness. One highlander was wounded. There were in whole of the French, 20 officers, and 120 soldiers and sailors; of which upwards of 30 were killed and a good many wounded by the Sheerness, before they landed. A good deal of arms and ammunition, with

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with 13,000l. Sterling, all Engliſh gold except 1000 French guineas, was found on board.——The officers taken were: Colonel Brown.—Of Berwick's regiment, Captains, Macmahon and Rogers; Lieutenants, Edward and William Barnavals, Nugent, and Maurice.——Of Hainault, Captain Macmahon.——Of Claire's, Lieutenants, Obrian, Brimingham, and Oſborn.——Of the Royal Scots in France, Lieutenants, Barnaval and Weyard.——Of the French Gens d'Armes, M. Shabillard.——In the Spaniſh ſervice, Captain Gould, Lieutenant Hynd.——Of the Iriſh grenadeers in the Spaniſh ſervice, Captains, Macpherſon, Sinclair, and Hay.——A Spaniſh engineer M. Faro.——And M. Salbold, Captain of the Hazard.

Intelligence was received by Lord Rea on the 29th, from Andrew Roſs Sherriff-depute of Orkney, that Captain Sinclair, above mentioned, had laid an embargo on twelve merchant-ſhips in Stromneſs harbour; and deſigned, with the aſſiſtance of a rebel-party then at Kirkwall, under the command of Lord Macleod, ſon of the Earl of Cromertie, to ſecure them for the uſe of the Pretender. Lord Rea immediately ſent notice to the Sheernes: which thereupon ſailed directly, relieved the merchant ſhips, and ſeized Sinclair's, but he himſelf made his eſcape. Captain Obrian found a good deal of ſmall arms, broad ſwords, ammunition, and ſeveral treaſonable letters on board.

Lord Rea having been threatened by letters from the Earl of Cromertie with fire and ſword, unleſs his men would ſubmit to the rebels, and deliver up their arms, went ſoon after this to Edinburgh, with his family, as did Lord Loudon's men to Aberdeen, both by ſea. Captain Obrian then ſailed for the frith of Forth, and ſent the two prizes, the Hazard, and Sinclair's ſhip, to Leith-road. The priſoners were carried to Berwick.

While the army lay at Aberdeen, ſome of the ſoldiers diſcovered an inclination to uſe the ſame freedoms there that had been taken in Perthſhire. But it was aſſured in ſeveral letters, that the Duke diſcountenanced ſuch practices. One dated at Aberdeen, March 24th ſaid,

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said, " Some detached parties having pillaged James Gordon of Cowbairdie's houſe, (who was in the rebellion); and his Lady having, by Lord Forbes, her father, petitioned the Duke, his Royal Highneſs thereupon ordered a ſtrict inquiry to be made into the matter, and 100 guineas to be given the Lady for her loſſes; declaring that there never was an order for taking any effects belonging to the rebels, other than their cattle and forage, for that the reſt was to be left to the law. By this it appears that his Royal Highneſs knew not of ſome little outrages committed, but puniſhed them when known."——It appears, that ſome officers were likewiſe criminal. Lieutenant Fawlie, of Fleming's regiment, was broke at Montroſe, on the 24th of February, for diſobedience of orders, forfeiture of his word of honour, and prevarication before a court-martial held on him in conſequence of his plundering the houſe of Mr. Oliphant of Gaſk, who was with the rebels. This was one of the Gentlemen who had ſome of their houſhold-goods, *&c.* auctioned at Perth. What the orders were that Lieutenant Fawlie diſobeyed, or wherein he forfeited his honour, was not mentioned; but the following caſe is more particular, (as it was inſerted by order in the Edinburgh news-paper), dated at Aberdeen, March 27th, and ſigned by *Lieutenant-Colonel David Cunninghame*, *Preſident* of the court-martial, and by *David Bruce*, *D. J. Advocate*, *viz.* " At a general court-martial held at Aberdeen the 23d day of March inſtant, by order of his Royal Highneſs William Duke of Cumberland, *&c. &c. &c.* the following ſentence was pronounced againſt Enſign Daniel Hart, of late Sir Robert Monroe's regiment, for extorting ſix guineas from the wife of Francis Roſs merchant in Aberdeen, upon his promiſing to protect her houſe and ſhop, *viz.* " It appearing evident to the court, from the preceeding depoſitions, and the priſoner's own confeſſion, that he " is guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, do therefore " unanimouſly adjudge him to be caſhiered, and rendered incapable of ever ſerving in any capacity under his " Majeſty; and ordain this his ſentence to be publickly

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" read

" read to him at the head of the piquets; and require " David Bruce, Depute Judge Advocate for his Royal " Highneſs's army, to tranſmit a copy of the ſentence to " Edinburgh, to be inſert in the publick news papers." ——His Royal Highneſs approved of the above ſentence, and diſcharged his following the army any further. Two ſoldiers of Fleming's regiment were hanged at Aberdeen, for plundering ſeveral houſes in that neighbourhood; and a ſpy was likewiſe executed there. The rebels did the ſame by a man for carrying letters to ſome friends of the government.

Great encomiums were daily made upon the Duke.—One in particular from Aberdeen, of the 9th of March, ſays, " His Royal Highneſs is in good health, and all degrees of people are charmed with his deportment. Even the diſſafected cannot help ſaying, that his preſence alone is equal to an army: and our friends, when they ſee him equally attentive to buſineſs and diverſion, and as ſolicitous to pleaſe, as to execute his office, aſk us, whether the Duke was ſent down to civilize, or to ſubdue the North? We anſwer, He is come to do both. The late hard weather has afforded him leiſure enough for the former; and as the air grows warmer, he will infallibly take the neceſſary meaſures for performing the latter; and till the ſeaſon would allow, even Cæſar himſelf muſt have ſtaid."

According to letters from Aberdeen, of the 31ſt, the continued ill weather during the month of March, had raiſed the waters of the Spey ſo high, that the army ſtill remained in that city and neighbourhood; but his Royal Highneſs propoſed to march as ſoon as poſſible.

Several ſmall parties came to Edinburgh from England during this month, regulars and irregulars, and marched to the poſts aſſigned them. Conſiderable ſums of money for the uſe of army, and great quantities of ſtores proviſions, *&c.* likewiſe came to Scotland from England. Lee's regiment from Berwick came to Edinburgh on the 16th, and were quartered in the ſuburbs. The Edinburgh regiment is ſtill kept up. They do duty not only in town, but likewiſe in Canongate, the

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the caſtle, &c. when there is occaſion; and twelve of them with a Serjeant, went on the 3d of March, for Blakneſs caſtle to reinforce the garriſon there. The freeholders of the ſhire of Mid-Lothain, at a general meeting held on the 14th, reſolved, that they ſhould pay up their full ceſs, without aſking deduction of what they had been obliged to pay to the rebels.—On the 27th four ſurgeon-lads, who had attended the rebels in their expedition to England, and had been priſoners ſome time in Edinburgh caſtle, were ſent under a guard for London; and on the 1ſt of April, ſeveral priſoners taken up on ſuſpicion at Perth, were brought to Edinburgh, ſome Gentlemen in a coach, the reſt on foot, and committed to the caſtle; but they were brought down the ſame day to the city-priſon.

The King's army, remained at Aberdeen and its neighbourhood till the end of March. Advices thence of the 4th of April ſay, That the Duke had ſpared no pains or trouble to put every thing in readineſs to have been in motion long before that time, but had met with ſo many difficulties of croſs winds and other accidents as had till then prevented him; that the three laſt days of dry South wind had brought up their firing and proviſions, and, as was hoped, had rendered the Spey fordable; whence a report was expected that day, two officers having been ſent to reconnoitre it; that Major La Fauſille, having diſarmed all the rebels in Clova and Gleneſk, was expected there in three or four days, with near 500 recovered men; and that his Royal Highneſs was making a fort at Aberdeen, in which he was to leave, under the command of Captain Croſby of the Scots fuſileers, a proper force for ſecuring that town from any inſults from Glenbucket's people or any others. The hoſpital founded by Mr. Gordon at Aberdeen, into which no boys had hitherto been admitted, was fitted up for that purpoſe.

It was added, from Aberdeen, of the ſame date, that the rebels had fitted out a ſhip at Findhorn, on board of which they propoſed to carry the remainder of their priſoners to France, and that the French Ambaſſa-

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dor had actually arrived there in his coach four days before, in order to imbark for France likewise; that the Pretender's son was reported to be still ill at Inverness, and was lodged at the Lady dowager Macintosh's; that the seizing all the cattle and demolishing the habitations of those in Lochabef who were actually out in rebellion, had had a very good effect, all the rebels of that country having thereupon deserted, to go to their own houses; and that, by all that could be learned of the different parties of the rebels, there was great confusion amongst them, which, added to the want of money, had occasioned many mutinies and desertions.

It would seem that more of the rebel's habitations have been demolished than those mentioned, though we have seen accounts of none published.—This desertion was spoke of from different quarters.—They wrote from Inverary, that 600 of the rebels surrendered to the Earl of Albemarle; other letters asserted, that for several days after the 3d of April, they came in by hundreds at a time to General Bland; and it was added, that their Excellencies, after taking their arms from them, permitted them to go home to their own houses peaceably.

The Duke, with the last division of the army, marched from Aberdeen on the 8th, and incamped on the 11th at Cullen; at which place Lord Albemarle joined them, and the whole army was assembled. Next day they marched to the Spey, and passed it, with no other loss then of one dragoon, and four women, who were all drowned. Major General Huske was detached in the morning, with the fifteen companies of grenadeers, the highlanders, and all the cavalry, with two pieces of cannon; and the Duke went with them himself. On their appearance, the rebels, who appeared to be between 2 and 3000, retired from the side of Spey towards Elgin; whereupon Kingston's horse forded over, sustained by the grenadeers and highlanders. But the rebels got out of their reach before they could pass. The foot waded over as fast as they arrived; and tho' the water came up to their middles, they went on with great chearfuln ss

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They had the fineſt weather that could be wiſhed for their firſt incampment, and found plenty of ſtraw and forage. The army incamped on the 12th on the Weſt-ſide of the Spey, marched thro' Elgin on the 13th, incamped about three miles to the Weſt of it, in the pariſh of Alves, and on the 14th reached Nairn; where they halted the 15th, being the Duke's birth-day, and employed themſelves in putting their arms, &c. in good order.

By this time the rebels had aſſembled the greateſt part of their troops. But the detachment under the command of the Earl of Cromarty and Bariſdale were not returned from Sutherland. Lord George Murray arrived at Inverneſs from Athol on the 4th or 5th of April; but the party that he commanded at the ſiege of Blair caſtle, marched thence directly for the Spey. The French who had been at the ſiege of Fort William, about 300 in number, came into Inverneſs on the 6th, with five pieces of cannon; but the highlanders who had been on that ſervice, Lochiel's and Keppoch's men, did not arrive till the 14th and 15th.

The party commanded by the Earl of Cromarty was attacked, on the 15th, at Golſpie, by Lord Sutherland's people, and routed, only 50 eſcaped. About 40 of them were killed or drowned; ſome were wounded; the Earl, his ſon, ſome officers, and upwards of 150 private men, were made priſoners; and about 1200 l. in caſh was ſeized. None of Lord Sutherland's people were killed, and but few wounded.

On Wedneſday the 16th, a deciſive battle was fought, on Drummoſſie moor, South of Culloden-houſe, two miles from Inverneſs. An expreſs diſpatched by the Duke of Athol from Perth reached Edinburgh late on Saturday night, with the news; and about the ſame time, or next day, letters were received from Aberdeen, all agreed, that the Kings, army under the command of the Duke had obtained a compleat and glorious victory; that about 500 of the rebels were killed in the field of battle, and about other 500 in the purſuit; that the King's troops ſuſtained very little loſs; and that part

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of

of the rebels fled towards Badenoch and Fort Auguſtus, and others through Inverneſs to Roſsſhire. At two o'clock on Sunday morning, the caſtle notified the news by a round of great guns, and it was anſwered by the ſhips of war in Leith road. An expreſs from the Duke was now impatiently looked for.——By the 22d, notice was received, that the battle was very bloody, no quarter having been given on either ſide while it laſted, which was but about half an hour; that 1000 of the rebels were left dead in the field; and that about 200 were killed or wounded on the King's ſide. Theſe particulars came by Lord Bury, Aid de Camp to the Duke, who was diſpatched from Inverneſs on the 16th at ſeven o'clock at night, with letters from his Royal Highneſs to the King. He came South by ſea, landed at Northberwick on the 21ſt, ſent the above account to Edinburgh, and then ſet out for London.——About the ſame time the following letter came to town, from a Gentleman in the army, dated at Inverneſs, on the 16th, *viz.* "At laſt we have done it.——The rebels this day have met with a confounded drubbing.——The Duke and all our Generals are well.——Lord Robert Ker was wounded; Colonel Rich loſt his left hand; and Captain Groſſete of Price's was, I am told, among the ſlain.—Our loſs otherwiſe was very inconſiderable.——Of the rebels were a d——n'd number killed, and an innumerable multitude of priſoners, *&c.*"——Thus all ſubſequent advices, not only confirmed what had been related before, but made the victory more compleat: and on the morning of the 23d, one of the King's meſſengers arrived at Edinburgh, with letters from Inverneſs of the 19th, containing the following particulars, *viz.*

"His Royal Highneſs with the army incamped the 15th at Nairn; and the rebels, hoping to ſurprize him there, marched within three miles of our camp: but upon intelligence that our drums were beating, in order to march to attack them, they retired to the ground they had choſen to engage us in; which was a moor near to the houſe of Culloden. His Royal Highneſs marched

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thither the 16th, and came up with the rebels at one afternoon. The action begun by the fire of the rebels cannon; which ours answered with success, and very soon brought their first line, consisting altogether of their clans, in a great hurry to attack us. Their right wing outfronted our left; which fell in a little: but our men fairly beat them back with their bayonets, and made a great slaughter of them. They made the same movement on their left; but the regiments on our right, where his Royal Highness was, did not take their firelocks from their shoulders. Though the rebels came down firing their pistols, and brandishing their swords, three times, within less than one hundred yards; yet they dared not to attack us; but went off without attempting any thing. The rebels looked upon themselves as quite covered on their right wing by the walls of a park: but the Generals Hawley and Bland, with that part of our cavalry that was posted on our left, got through these walls, by the assistance of the Campbells who made several openings for them, and attacked their right wing and made great slaughter; and at the same time the horse from our right attacked their left flank, so that our cavalry met in their centre. By this time (which was not half an hour from the first firing of the cannon) they were quite routed, and the horse had orders to pursue; which they did for above three miles, with great execution. The rebel prisoners said, they lost on the field and in the pursuit above 4000 men. We had 222 French, and 326 rebel prisoners, besides officers. We took 12 cannon, a great deal of ammunition, and about 2400 firelocks. Our loss was 50 officers and soldiers killed, and 250 wounded. Lord Kilmarnock and some other officers of note were taken, and many of the highland chiefs were killed. This great event, under God, was entirely the work of his Royal Highness. The disposition, and the ordering the execution of it, was all his own.

To this account was subjoined the return of the rebel officers and soldiers then prisoners at Inverness, as follows, *viz.* 3 Colonels; Lord Kilmarnock, Stirlingshire;

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Francis

Francis Farquharson, Aberdeenshire; and Mackachlan, Invernesshire.——1 Major, James Stewart, of Perth's regiment.——5 Captains: John Farquharson, of Farquharson's regiment; Alexander Cuming and Alexander Buchannan, of Perth's; Andrew Wood, of Roy Stewarts's; and Andrew Spruel, of Pitsligo's.—1 Lieutenant: George Gordon, of Glenbucket's.—3 Ensigns: Duncan Macgrigor, of Farquharson's; and James Lindsay, of Strathallan's; and James Hay, of Pitsligo's.—1 Engineer: John Finlayson, from Edinburgh.—1 Deputy Paymaster, Nairn, from Edinburgh.——1 Chaplain: George Law, from Aberdeen.——2 Surgeons: George Lauder and John Rattray, from Edinburgh.—4 Life-guards, under the command of Lord Elcho: Sir John Wedderburn, from Angus; Walter Gordon, from Mid-Lothian; Andrew Cassie, from Tweeddale; and James Bradshaw, from Manchester.—1 Cadet in the French piquets: Donald Ferguson, of Perth's regiment; and David Fraser, of the Master of Lovat's.—John Macintire, of Argyleshire, Bawman to the Pretender; George Addison, from Aberdeen, of Pitsligo's regiment, Bawman.—229 private men; one of which, Donald Fraser, a dumb man of Lord Lovat's, was said to have killed seven men at Falkirk. 89 deserters from different regiments of the King's troops.

A list was likewise annexed, of prisoners at Inverness, to be tried by a civil court for being aiding and assisting to the Pretender while in this country, *viz.* John Gordon, factor to the Duke of Gordon; Alexander Innes, Commissary-Clerk of Aberdeenshire; William Weaver, of Aberdeenshire; Christopher Patter, of Yorkshire; John Cowie, Edward Smith, Alexander Shand, Alexander Clerk, Joseph Grant, and John Korrack, of Murrayshire; John Seed of London; William Gordon and John Ritchie, of Aberdeen; John Innes, of Buchan; Daniel Barber, John Shaw, James Murray, and John Taylor, of Inverness; James Brander, John Johnston, William Fenwick, John Christy, and William Mackay, of Elgin; and John Macdonald, Chelsea pensioner.

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The first accounts of this action reached London on the 23d, and Lord Bury arrived there next morning with the Duke's letter to the King,—These advices were published in *extraordinary Gazettes* as soon as possible after they came to hand, and were much the same with what we have already related. On the 26th a messenger from the Duke arrived at London; and next day the following paper was published there by authority.

Inverness, April 18.

ON Tuesday the 15th (we were informed that) the rebels (had) burnt Fort Augustus; which convinced us of their resolution to stand an engagement with the King's troops. We gave our men a day's halt at Nairn, and on the 16th marched from thence, between four and five, in four columns, The three lines of foot (reckoning the reserve for one) were broken into three columns equal, and each of five battalions; the artillery and baggage followed the first column upon the right, and the cavalry made the fourth column on the left.

After we had marched about eight miles, our advanced guard, composed of about 40 of Kingston's (horse), and the highlanders, led by the Quartermaster-General, perceived the rebels at some distance making a motion towards us on the left; upon which we immediately formed; but finding the rebels were still a good way from us, and that the whole body did not come forward, we put ourselves again upon our march in our former posture, and continued it to within a mile of them; where we again formed in the same order as before. After reconnoitring their situation, we found them posted behind some walls and huts, in a line with Culloden house. As we thought our right entirely secure, (by a morass), General Hawley and General Bland went to the left with the two regiments of dragoons, to endeavour to fall upon the right flank of the rebels, and Kingston's horse was ordered to the reserve. The ten pieces of cannon were disposed, two in each of the intervals of the first line; and all our highlanders (except about 140 which

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which were upon the left with General Hawley, and who behaved extremely well) were left to guard the baggage.

When we were advanced within 500 yards of the rebels, we found the moraſs upon our right was ended; which left our right flank quite uncovered to them: his Royal Highneſs thereupon immediately ordered Kingſton's horſe from the reſerve, and a little ſquadron of about 60 of Cobham's, which had been patrolling, to cover our flank; and Pultney's regiment was ordered from the reſerve to the right of the Royals.

We ſpent above half an hour after that, trying which ſhould gain the flank of other; and his Royal Highneſs having ſent Lord Bury forward within 100 yards of the rebels, to reconnoitre ſomewhat that appeared like a battery unto us, they thereupon began firing their cannon; which was extremely ill ſerved and ill pointed. Ours immediately anſwered which began their confuſion. They then came running on in their wild manner; and upon the right, where his Royal Highneſs had placed himſelf, imagining the greateſt puſh would be there, they came down three ſeveral times within 100 yards of our men, firing their piſtols and brandiſhing their ſwords. But the Royals and Pultney's hardly took their firelocks from their ſhoulders ſo that after thoſe faint attempts they made off: and the little ſquadrons on our right were ſent to purſue them. General Hawley had, by the help of our highlanders beat down two little ſtone walls, and came in upon the right flank of their ſecond line.

As their whole firſt line came down to attack at once, their right, ſomewhat out-flanked Barrel's regiment, which was our left; and the greateſt part of the little loſs we ſuſtained, was there: but Bligh's and Sempill's giving a fire upon thoſe who had outflanked Barrel's, ſoon repulſed them, and Barrel's regiment and the left of Monro's fairly beat them with their bayonets. There was ſcarce a ſoldier or officer of Barrel's, and of that

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part of Monro's which engaged, who did not kill one or two men each with their bayonets and ſpontoons.*

The cavalry, which had charged from right to left, met in the centre, except two ſquadrons of dragoons, which we miſſed, and they were gone in the purſuit of the runaways. Lord Ancrum was ordered to purſue with the horſe as far as he could; and did it with ſo good effect, that a very conſiderable number was killed in the purſuit.

As we were in our march to Inverneſs, and were near arrived there, Major-General Bland ſent the annexed papers, which he received from the French officers and ſoldiers ſurrendering themſelves priſoners, to his Royal highneſs. Major-General Bland had alſo made great ſlaughter, and took about 50 French officers and ſoldiers priſoners, in his purſuit.

By the beſt calculation that can be made, it was thought the rebels loſt 2000 men upon the field of battle, and in the purſuit. We have here 222 French, and 326 rebel priſoners, as will appear by liſts hereunto annexed. Lieutenant Colonel Howard killed an officer, who appeared to be Lord Strathallan, by the ſeal, and different commiſſions from the Pretender found in his pocket.

It was ſaid Lord Perth, Lord Nairn, Lochiel, Keppoch, and Appin Stewart, were alſo killed. All their artillery and ammunition, of which a liſt is alſo annexed, were taken as well as the pretender's and all their baggage. There were alſo 12 colours taken.

All the Generals, officers, and ſoldiers, did their utmoſt in his Majeſty's ſervice, and ſhewed the greateſt zeal and bravery on this occaſion.

The Pretender's ſon, it was ſaid, lay at Lord Lovat's houſe at Aird, the night after the action. Brigadier Mordaunt

* A weapon uſed of late years by the officers of foot, inſtead of the half pike. The ſpontoon has a longer and larger blade at the end of the ſtaff, than that of the half-pike; and is rendered more fit for execution, by a croſs ſtop, which make it eaſily recovered when thruſt into the enemy; whereas the half-pike uſually ran ſo far, as to be often loſt or broken on thoſe occaſions.

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Mordaunt was detached with 900 voluntiers that morning into the Frasers country, to attack all the rebels he might find there. Lord Sutherland's and Lord Rea's people continue to exert themselves, and have taken upwards of 100 rebels, who were sent for; and there was great reason to believe Lord Cromarty, and his son, were also taken. The Monro's have killed 50 of the rebels in their flight. As it was not known where the greatest bodies of them were, or which way they had taken their flight, his Royal Highness had not determined which way to march. On the 17th, as his Royal Highness was at dinner, three officers, and about 16 of Fitzjames's regiment, who were mounted, came, and surrendered themselves prisoners.

The killed, wounded, and missing of the King's troops, (as by the annexed list), amounted to above 300.

The French officers were all sent to Carlisle, till his Majesty's pleasure should be known.

The rebels, by their own accounts, make their loss greater by two thousand than we had stated it. Four of their principal Ladies were in custody, *viz.* Lady Ogilvy, Lady Kinloch, Lady Gordon, and the Laird of Macintosh's wife. Major Grant, the Governor of Inverness, is retaken; and the Generals Hawley, Lord Albemarle, Huske and Bland, have orders to inquire into the reason for the surrendring of Fort George.

Lord Cromerty, Lord Macleod his son, with other prisoners, were brought in from Sutherland by the Hound sloop, which his Royal Highness had sent for them.

Translation of a letter from the officers in the service of his Most Christian Majesty, who were at Inverness the day of the battle of Culloden, to Major-General Bland.

SIR, *Inverness, April* 16.

THE French officers and soldiers, who are at Inverness, surrender themselves prisoners to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, and hope for

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every thing which is to be expected from the English generosity.——Signed, *Cusack. Murphy. Le Marquis de Guilles. Dehau. D'Obrien. M'Donald.*

To the commanding officer of the troops of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.

Translation of the parole of honour signed by the officers in the service of his Most Christian Majesty, with their names, titles, &c.

Inverness, April 17. 1746.

WE the underwritten, in the service of his Most Christian Majesty, acknowledge ourselves prisoner's of war of his Britannick Majesty; and we engage ourselves upon our parole of honour, not to go out of the town of Inverness, without permission from his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland. In witness whereof, we have signed this, and have thereunto set the seal of our arms. Done at the head-quarters at Inverness, the 17th of April, 1746.

The parole is signed by the 51 officers following *viz.*

Stapleton, Brigadier of the armies of the Most Christian King, Lieutenant-Colonel; Captains Delahoyde and Patrick Clargue; and Lieutenants Thomas Goold, Pierre O Reily, and Eugene O Keaffe, of Berwick's regiment.

Jean M'Donell, Colonel; Lieutenant Barnaval; and Quartermaster Philippe Molloy, of Fitzjames's regiment.

Le Marquis de Guilles, (called by the rebels the French Ambassador), Captain in the marines regiment.

Captains Francois Nugent, (appointed to exercise the function of Quartermaster in the French troops in Scotland, Patrice Nugent, Robert Shee, and Thomas Baggot; Lieutenant Jean Nugent; Cornet De Cook; and Adjutant Mark Baggot, of Fitzjames's horse.

Captain N. Camerford; Lieutenant O Danil; and Thomas Scot, voluntier, in Bulkley's regiment.

Captains Cusack, Richard Bourke, Edouard de Nugent, and John Dillon; and Lieutenants Jean M'Donagh,

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agh, Michel Burke, and Carbery Fox, of Dillon's regiment.

Captain Thomas M'Dermott, and Lieutenants Dudly M'Dermott and Peter Taaffe, of Rothe's regiment

Captains Robert Stack, (who being wounded, Murphy signed for him), Richard Murphy, and Alexandre Geoghegan; and Lieutenants Miles Swiny, Patrick Sarsfield, and Jaques Grant of Lally's regiment.

Captain Jean O Bryen, of the regiment of Paris militia.

Captains O Donohou, Douglas, D'Horton, Jean St. Leger, and Lord Lewis Drummond; and Lieutenants Dicconſon, Nairne, and Damary in the Royal Scots.

Charles Guillaume Douglaſs, Captain in Languedoc.

D'Andrion and Charles Bodin, officers of artillery.

Du Sauſſay, French engineer.

Alexander Gordon, Chaplain of the French troops.

Pierre Colieno, Second Captain of a Spaniſh ſhip.

Return of ordnance and ſtores taken at and ſince the battle of Culloden.

Braſs ordnance, 3 of 1½ lb. 11 of 3 lb. and 4 of 4 lb. Iron ditto, 4 of 4 lb. In all 22.——Braſs ſwivels, 6. Iron ditto, 2. In all 8.——Firelocks of different kinds, 2320. Broad ſwords and blades, 198. Muſket-cartridges, 1500. Shot for ordnance of different natures, 1019. Muſket ſhot, 5 C. Barrels of powder, 37. Ammunition-carts, 22.——Beſides ſmaller ſtores, ſome tents, cantines, pouches and cartrouch-boxes, piſtols, ſaddles, *&c.*

Return of the names of the officers, and number of non-commiſſioned officers, private men, and horſes, killed and wounded.

Royal Scots; 4 men wounded.

Howards; 1 man killed, and 2 wounded.

Barrel's; Captain Lord Robert Ker, and 16 men, killed. Lieutenant-Colonel Rich, Captain Romer, Lieutenant Edmonds, Enſigns Campbell and Brown, and 103 men, wounded.

Wolfs; Enſign Bruce, wounded.

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Price's;

Price's; Captain Groſſette, killed; Captain Simpſon, and 8 men wounded.

Bligh's; 4 men killed; Lieutenant Trapaud and 16 men wounded.

Scots fuſileers: 7 mem wounded.

Sempill's: 1 man killed, and 13 wounded.

Cholmondeley's: 1 man killed, and 2 wounded.

Fleming's; 6 men wounded.

Late Monro's: 14 men killed; Captain Kinnier, Lieutenants King and Lort, Enſigns Dally and Mundock, and 63 men wounded.

Late Ligonier's: 1 man killed; Captain Spark, and 4 men, wounded.

Battereau's; Captain Carter, and 2 men, wounded.

Loudon's: Captain John Campbell, wounded, and dead ſince; 6 men killed, and 2 wounded.

Argyleſhire militia: Captain Colin Campbell wounded, and dead ſince.

Kingſton's horſe: 1 man wounded.

Cobham's dragoons: 1 man killed.

Mark Kerr's dragoons: 3 men killed, and 3 wounded.

Artillery: 1 Gunner, and 5 men wounded.

Rank and file, officers included, total killed 50; wounded 259; miſſing 1. In all 310.

Horſes. Kingſton's: 2 killed, and 1 wounded. *Cobham's:* 4 killed, and 5 wounded. *Mark Kerr's:* 4 killed, and 15 wounded. In all, 10 killed, and 21 wounded.

Liſt of the priſoners taken in Sutherland the 15 of April, imbarked on board his Majeſty's ſloop the Hound, Captain Dove, Commander.

The Earl of Cromerty; Lord Macleod, his ſon; Lieutenant-Colonel Kendall, in the Spaniſh ſervice; Captain Mackenzie, brother of Ballon; Captain Rodrick Macculloch of Glaſtulich; Lieutenant Rodrick Mackenzie, brother to Keppoch; Lieutenant Alexander Mackenzie, brother to Dundonald; Lieutenant Alexander Mackenzie of Corrie; George St. Clair of Gees; Hector.

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tor Campbell in Caithneſs; Hector Mackenzie; Lieutenant James Macrac, in the Spaniſh ſervice; and 152 private men.

Liſt of the officers who (the rebels themſelves ſaid) were killed in the battlle.

Lord Strathallan; Colonels Maclachlan, Ciſholm, Mackintoſh, Fraſer, Macdonald of Keppoch, Cameron of Locheil, Grant, and Macdonald of Clanronald; Captain Macdonald in Clanronald's regiment, Nairn, Farquharſon of Whitehouſe, and Farquharſon of Achrehan; Macdonald of Lochgarry; Enſign Mackintoſh; Lord Balmerino; and Duke of Perth, but not certain.

A return publiſhed at Edinburgh on the 29th, was as follows.

Rebel officers killed. Lord Srathallan; Keppoch, (was ſaid to be a miſtake); Colonels Fraſer, Mackenzie, and Macintoſh; and Major Macbain.

Rebel officers taken. The Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromarty; Lord Balmerino; Lord Macleod; Colonel Macgillivrey, leader of the Mackintoſhes; Colonel Macghie of Shirloch, leader of the Ramachs; Colonel Stewart of Ardſheal, leader of the Stewarts of Appin; and Major Glaſgow.

The total killed and taken was 4000. Of which 3050 are killed and wounded; and 700 rebels and deſerters, 24 French officers and 226 troopers and foot, are taken.

Rebel Ladies taken. Ladies Ogilvy, Kinloch, Gordon, Mackintoſh, and Shirloch, and Mrs. Williams.

Of the King's army, 2 officers were killed, and 17 wounded of whom four died afterwards; 48 ſoldiers were killed, and 267 wounded, but ſlightly for the moſt part; making in all, killled and wounded, 334.

Among various reports concerning the ſituation and circumſtances of the rebels before and at the time of the action, are theſe following.

" Lord John Drummond, who commanded on the Spey, received intelligence, on Thurſday the 10th at night, of the Duke's having marched from Aberdeen,

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to

but certain notice of this was not got at Inverefs, the Pretender's fon's head quarters, till Saturday at noon.

At this time the rebel army was computed to be about 8000 effective men. There were about 2000 of them on the Spey; the like number, at Elgin, Forres Nairn and Inverneſs; a few, at Cromerty; about 1600, in Sutherland, and Lord Rea's country under the command of Lord Cromarty, Glengyle, Glencairneg, and Barrifdale; the Macphersons, in Badenoch; and the Camerons, the Frafers, and fome faid Keppoch's men, in their own countries.

On receiving information at Inverneſs of the Duke's march orders were given to draw their men together with all expedition poſſible. The corps between Inverneſs and the Spey retired, as the King's army advanced. Early on Monday morning, the Pretender's ſon went from Inverneſs to Nairn either to reconnoitre the ground or to hold a council of war with the officers there, or to get more certain intellignce of the motions and ſtrength of the King's army, He returned to Inverneſs in the afternoon, and the ſame evening drew out all the men that were there, to Culloden, two miles Eaſt of Inverneſs. The other rebel corps that had been retiring before the King's army, met thoſe from Inverneſs there; and the whole lay on their arms in Culloden parks on Monday night. There was only a ſmall quantity of bread delivered them, ſome ſaid but two biſcuits each man, either becauſe they had not enough baked, or becauſe they expected to engage next day, and therefore would not incumber the men with more baggage than was thought abſolutely neceſſary.

Next day they formed in order of battle on Drummoſſie moor, in expectation that the King's army would march up. Locheil with 6 or 700 men had come up on the Monday, as did about the like number of Frafers, and Keppoch with his men, on Tueſday. It was computed they were now 6000 ſtrong; and they had intelligence that the Duke had not above 6500; though they afterwards judged this to be a miſinformation, and that he had above 9000. The King's army not having moved

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moved from Nairn on the Tuesday, as was expected, after sunset the rebels marched Eastward, with design to attack them in their camp before break of day; in hopes, as some people think, to have catched them napping after solemnizing the Duke's birth-day. They marched in two columns, one commanded by Lord George Murray, and the other by the Duke of Perth; and were to meet about two miles from Nairn. Perth's column was too late in coming up, so that the King's army was apprised of their approach. Besides, a great many of their men had fallen off, thinking they might do this in the night unobserved, and hid themselves in the fields; so that when the two columns joined, it was judged, that of 6000 men which had marched off the moor, there were not much above half that number together. These circumstances obliged the rebels to drop their design of attacking the Duke's camp; therefore they returned and came to Culloden about eight o'clock on Wednesday morning, the 16th. Most of the men that had straggled in the march Eastward, joined them in their return. But the army was fatigued by their long march to Nairn and back again, being about eighteen miles; and as they had wanted two nights rest, and had ate but little for two days, a good many of them went to Inverness, and the villages around, and the rest lay down, to refresh themselves.

They were scarce lain down, when notice came that the King's army was approaching. On this they prepared to form the line of battle on the moor; but could not get so many of their men together by upwards of 1000 as they had the day before. The rebels played with five pieces of cannon on the King's army when forming; and they in return played with ten field pieces. This continued near half an hour, and much intimidated the highlanders. Lord George Murray, perceiving that they began to lose their spirits, called to advance. They did so; but not with their usual resolution. Two regiments on the left of the King's army were indeed broke in upon, but elsewhere there was little or no execution done. The horse and the Campbells went behind a

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park-dike on the right of the rebels, which they broke down, and flanked them; on which they all fled.

The Mackphersons were met about five or six miles from the field of battle on the road to Ruthven in Badenoch. At this place about 2000 of the rebels met next day, and afterwards dispersed. They were under an absolute necessity to hazard a battle, having neither money nor provisions. Their army had got no pay from the 18th of March, only meal; so that the taking of the Hazard sloop has been of great service to the government."

Some of these reports were confirmed by one James Hay, a Scotsman, who calls himself a Captain and Paymaster of Lord John Drummond's regiment. This Gentleman surrendered himself to the Lord Justice-Clerk at Edinburgh on the 29th, and was committed to the castle. He said, that the rebels had not received any pay for some weeks before the battle; that their magazine of provisions being very low, they were forced to try a battle; that, the night before, they were extremely harrassed by marching and countermarching, and were by the Duke's quick march surprised before they could get any refreshment; that the French, *viz.* Drummond's regiment, the Irish piquets, and Fitzjames's horse, amounted to between 6 and 700 men at the time of the battle; that of the first 50 were killed in the battle, and of the second about 100; and that he parted from Lord John Drummond at Ruthven, who took the money belonging to the regiment from him, and divided it amongst his officers, desiring every one to shift for himself, as he intended to do.

The following order, dated the 15th of April, and signed, *By his Royal Highness's command, George Murray, Leutenant General,* said to have been found in the pocket of one of the rebel-prisoners, was inserted in several papers, but never made mention of in the Gazette, *viz.* "*Parole,* RIGH SHEMUIS. It is his Royal Highness's positive orders, that every person attach himself to some corps of the army, and remain with that corps night and day, untill the battle and pursuit be finally o-

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ver;

ver; and to give no quarter to the Elector's troops on any account whatsoever. This regards the foot as well as the horse.—The order of battle is to be given to every general officer, and every commander of a regiment or squadron.—It is required and expected of each individual in the army, as well officer as soldier, that he keep the post that shall be alloted him; and if any man turn his back to run away, the next behind such man is to shoot him.—No body, upon pain of death, is to strip the slain, or plunder, till the battle be over.—The highlanders to be in kilts, and no body to throw away their guns."

We shall now add some extracts of letters relating to this memorable event,

"We cannonaded each other for some time. At last the rebels advanced against the left of our line, where was Barrel's regiment, and that late Monro's. Barrel's behaved with intrepid bravery, but was obliged to give way to the rapid torrent that bore down upon them. Their whole force then fell upon the left of ours, where I had the honour to command the grenadeer-platoon. Our lads fought more like devils than men. In short we laid (to the best of my judgment) about 1600 dead on the spot, and finished the affair without the help of any other regiment. You may judge of the work; for I had 18 men killed and wounded in my platoon. I thank God I escaped free, but my coat had six balls through it. In the midst of the action, the officer that laid on the Camerons, called to me to take quarter: which I refused, and bid the rebel scoundrel advance. He did, and fired at me; but providentially missed his mark. I then shot him dead, and took his pistol and durk, which were extremely neat. No one that attacked us, escaped alive; for we gave no quarter, nor would accept of any." *From a Captain in the regiment late Monro's.*

"The rebels formed themselves into a close body on our left; and, after firing some of the cannon to very little purpose, pushed down upon our left with great impetuosity. At first some impression was made upon Barrel's regiment, but they soon recovered themselves.

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The rebels were flanked on their left by our cartridge-shot, which killed many of them. They fired but once; then, as usual, threw down their firelocks, and closed upon Barrel's, Price's, and Monro's. The battle was now entirely fought between sword and bayonets. Our soldiers, by a new practice of using the latter, became much too hard for the swords; and the rebels, as they pushed forward, fell on certain death. Ours at least killed ten men to their one in this kind of fighting, besides what fell by the musketry and cannon. The rebels finding their only manner of fighting obviated, and those who supported their front cut off, they at first made a short pause, retreated a little, and then turning short round, fled with the utmost precipitation. But by this time our horse and dragoons had closed in upon them from both wings, and then followed a general carnage. The moor was covered with blood; and our men, what with killing the enemy, dabbling their feet in the blood, and splashing it about one another, looked like so many butchers."

"The success has been generally owing to three points of generalship, not thought of in the preceeding actions; or, perhaps, then esteemed of little importance. The first is, the manner of placing the cannon. They were so disposed among the respective regiments, that no impression on any particular part of the line could divest us of any significant part of our artillery, and by being placed in the centre of each regiment, some pieces were always capable of flanking the enemy, let their attack be on which part of the line soever. This answered the end proposed effectually; and, as far as we could conceive, more of the enemy fell by the fire of the cannon with cartridge-shot from our right, than by the musketry and sword on the left. His Highness had likewise taken care to observe which way the wind sat. This may seem of little importance to some people: but as many battles have been lost or gained by it on land, as well as at sea, and for exactly the same reason; and as we have a very remarkable instance in our view, we cannot help esteeming it of consequence; as those who

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have

have the wind, see the enemy clearly, and neither have their nostrils filled with sulphur, nor their faces burnt with wadding. The next was, the direction given about the use of the bayonet. The alteration was mighty little, but of the last consequence. Before this, the bayonet-man attacked the sword-man right fronting him: now the left-hand bayonet attacked the sword fronting his next right-hand man. He was then covered by the enemy's shield where open on his left, and the enemy's right open to him. This manner made an essential difference, staggered the enemy, who were not prepared to alter their way of fighting, and destroyed them in a manner rather to be conceived than told.—When the rebels made some little impression on Barrel's regiment, its giving ground proved fatal to Lord Robert Ker; who, not observing his men's giving back, remained a few yards forward alone. He had struck his pike into the body of a highland officer; but before he could disengage himself, was surrounded, and cut to pieces."

"About five o'clock in the morning, we marched from Nairn, ten miles from the place of the engagement, and about eleven we arrived within two miles of the ground where the rebels were drawn up in order of battle. Then our army formed in two lines, and three regiments for the corps de reseve, with the cavalry on our left flank, as it was most exposed, the right being secured by a morass. There was a hill on our left, which the rebels endeavoured to gain with all their best clans. Upon which the Duke made a movement to the left, and got as soon to the top of the hill as they; which seemed to disconcert them a good deal. Finding that they were outflanked in the right by our left, it occasioned them to change their disposition, and attempt to bring some troops from their second line, to fall upon our right flank, then removed from the morass. Which his Royal Highness perceiving, he ordered one regiment from the reserve to form on the right, and brought three squadrons of dragoons from the left to the right; which secured us entirely on that side. During this time they began to cannonade us with six pieces of cannon; but did

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did little execution. In return, we played ten pieces upon them. Not being much accuſtomed to cannon-balls, they could not ſtand them ſo well as our troops; and therefore were obliged to attack: which they did with great vigour. The fire continued very ſmart for ſome time, and put us all in a good deal of pain, as they had broke in upon the two regiments on our left. But General Huſke ſoon remedied this, by bringing up two regiments from the ſecond line; who immediately repulſed them. At the ſame time Generals Hawley and Bland wheeled with the cavalry, charged the right flank of the rebels; and having put them in confuſion, obliged them to retire. The rebels likewiſe attacked our right; but were repulſed directly, and charged in the retreat by Kingſton's horſe, which made great ſlaughter. In ſhort, they all run away as faſt as they could, and were purſued by the cavalry as far as Inverneſs."

"The rebels were above 9000 ſtrong, choſe their ground, and had likewiſe a rainy day to favour their broad-ſwords; but all would not do: and what is ſtill more, our front line only engaged; which ſhews what our people can do. They are now thoroughly convinced, that highlanders and broad ſwords ſignify little againſt us. Indeed they had the warmeſt fire given them that ever I ſaw for the time it laſted; and this is the third field-battle I have been in in leſs than a twelvemonth."

By the firſt Gazette account of this action, the rebels were ſaid to be about 7000 and by Lord Bury's account they are computed at upwards of 8000. On the other hand, according to one of the London papers, the King's army were under 7000 men. But the author of the *National Journal* obſerves, that, by the Gazette, the Duke had under his command, fifteen battalions of foot, two regiments of dragoons, and a regiment of light horſe, beſides the highlanders; that, by the eſtabliſhment, a battalion of foot conſiſts of 815 men, and a regiment of light horſe or dragoons of 450, at leaſt ſo many are paid for by the publick, which in whole amounts to 13,575 men, beſides the highlanders; and

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that

it may be true, that his Royal Highneſs had no more than 7000 along with him; but this news-writer would be glad to know where the reſt were.)

" The Duke has got the cheapeſt victory that perhaps has ever been known, tho' by his expoſing his own valuable perſon too much, it had often like to have coſt us too dear. A battery of their cannon bore directly upon the place where he ſtood. It did little execution; for a particular providence guards him, and he truſts to it. Several ſhots nearly miſſed him, and one ſhot took off two men exactly before him."—" His Royal Highneſs behaved as if he had been inſpired, conſtantly riding up and down giving his own orders,"—" We took all their cannon, arms, ammunition, magazines of beef and oat meal, *&c.*

There were very extraordinary publick rejoicings on account of this victory: and in the capital cities of both parts of the kingdom they happened to be on one and the ſame day, the 24th; being that on which Lord Bury arrived at London, and the account brought by the King's meſſenger was publiſhed at Edinburgh. The Duke's birth-day, the 15th, when his Royal Highneſs entered the 27th year of his age, was likewiſe ſolemnized in a very diſtinguiſhed manner; an anniverſary not obſerved till this year. On both theſe occaſions the teſtimonies of loyalty and joy were very general all over Britain and Ireland.

Lord Elcho was at the battle, and went off with the Pretenders ſon; but they afterwards ſeperated. The latter was ſeen about three o'clock the morning after the battle, paſſing by Fort Auguſtus, in the way to Glengary, with Sheridan and Sullivan, and no other attendants or ſervants. According to letters from Edinburgh of the 26th, Fort Auguſtus was burnt and blown up, and there was neither garriſon nor proviſions there.

The Macphersons were not at the battle, but were that day on their march to Inverneſs; and upon meeting the rebels running away from the action, they returned to their own country.

On

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On Saturday the 19th, the Duke of Perth and Lord John Drummond were at Garriemore, within twelve miles of Fort Auguſtus, on their way to Lochaber, attended only by their ſervants. The latter ordered the horſe of Fitzjames's regiment, who had followed the Pretender's ſon and him out of the battle, to return to Inverneſs, and ſurrender themſelves priſoners: and the general and laſt order given by the rebel officers to their men, was, to ſhift for themſelves. It was ſaid, that hundreds of the rebels, who died in their wounds, and of hunger, were found in the hills at twelve, fourteen, or twenty miles diſtance from the field of battle; and that their miſery was inexpreſſible. On the 23d, Glengyle, with about 120 men well armed, in their retreat from Sutherland, were ſeen near Finlarig, at the Weſt end of Loch Tay, on their way home to Balqhidder.

The detachment under the command of Brigadier Mordaunt, ſent into the Fraſers country on the 18th burnt Lord Lovat's houſe; and carried off horſes, cows, ſheep, meal, *&c.* which were brought in to Inverneſs, and diſtributed for the uſe of the army.

An account of the battle of CULLODEN, *with remarks on the diſpoſitions of the armies.*

ON the 16th of April, between four and five in the morning, the King's army began their march from Nairn, formed into five lines, of three battalions each; headed by Major General Huſke on the left, Lord Sempill on the right, and Brigadier Mordaunt in the centre: flanked by the horſe under the Generals Hawley and Bland; who at the ſame time, covered the cannon on the right and left.

They marched in this order about eight miles; when a detachment of Kingſton's horſe, and of the highlanders, having advanced ahead of the army, diſcovered the van of the rebels moving towards them: on notice whereof, his Royal Highneſs commanded the army to form in order of battle; which was thus executed.

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The three battalions of the second line defiled to the left of the respective battalions in the van; that is to say, Barrel's to the left of Monro's, Scots fusileers to to the left of Price's, and Cholmondeley's to the left of the Royal: then marching up, formed the front-line of six battalions; between each of them two pieces of cannon. At the head of this line, and in the centre, the Earl of Albemarle commanded; on the right wing, three squadrons of horse, commanded by Major General Bland; on the left, three other squadrons, commanded by Lord Ancrum.

The second line consisted of five battalions, placed to face the openings of the front line, with three pieces of cannon placed between the first and second battalion on the right and left of the same line: in order that if the enemy either broke thro' the centre, or outflanked either the right or left of the front, they might conveniently play upon them.

To support both, and as a final reserve, was placed the remaining four battalions, winged on the right and left by Kingston's horse.

In this disposition the army continued some time; but the body of the rebels not advancing, it fell into marching order again; which continued until the front were within a mile of the enemy; then formed again into fighting-order as before.

The rebel-army formed their front in thirteen divisions, being so many clans under their respective chiefs, with four pieces of cannon placed before their centre, and the same number on each wing. The centre was headed by Lord John Drummond; the right wing, by Lord George Murray; and the left, by the Duke of Perth. To support the front-line occasionlly, and covered by some stone walls, on the right was disposed Fitzjames's horse, and four companies of French piquets; on the left, one body of horse, made up with the *young Italian*'s (Pretender's son's) guards, some hussars and the Perthshire squadron, and five companies of Lord John Drummond's foot. Open to the centre of the front-line was the *young Italian*, placed with his body-

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body-guards. In his rear, a line of reserve, consisting of three columns; the first, on the left, commanded by Lord Kilmarnock; the centre-column, by Lord Lewis Gordon and Glenbucket; and the right, by Roy Sewart. Next, and directly in the rear of Glenbucket, were the regiments of Perth and Ogilvy stationed, as the final reserve.

In this order the rebels began firing on the King's army, about two o'clock, with their cannon; which being ill served did little execution. The firing was returned by the King's army, with such success, as put the rebels in great disorder. They disliked this way of fighting, and therefore made a push on the right of the King's army; where his Royal Highness waited to receive them in person. This they did in a kind of bravado, to draw the King's troops forward: but finding themselves deceived they turned their whole force to the left; and the weight of their fury fell chiefly on Barrel's and Monro's regiments; where they attempted to flank the King's front-line: but Wolfe's regiment advancing, entirely defeated their design. In the mean time the cannon was kept playing upon them with cartridge-shot. General Hawley, with some highlanders, had opened a passage thro' some stone walls to their right, for the horse which advanced on that side; while the horse on the King's right wheeled off upon their left, dispersed their body of reserve, and met in the centre of their front-line in their rear: when being repulsed in the front, and numbers cut off, they fell into an universal confusion. The horse on their backs made a dreadful carnage. The foot moved only in due order; but Kingston's horse, from the reserve, galloped up briskly, and falling in with the fugitives, did excellent execution. The rest the reader is to guess: having only left to observe, that on appearance of the two bodies of horse and dragoons advancing from the King's right and left, upon the rebels body of reserve, the *young Italian* never made the least motion to oppose them; but instantly wheeled off with his guards to the right, and rode full gallop thro' between Glenbucket's and

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and Stuart's columns; and, as we were credibly informed, never looked back till he arrived at Aird.

The different diſpoſitions of theſe two armies were in ſome meaſure owing to their reſpective ſituations The King's army was to fight uncovered; and the rebels, covered, behind ſtone walls: but when their impatience to get out of the way of the King's cannon, puſhed them on attacking, they neceſſarily either loſt the benefit of their reſerve, or the reſerve muſt loſs the benefit of the cover: which they not chuſing to do, the impetuoſity of the front carried them too far from their reſerve; and and then having no guard in their rear, the horſe on the King's right and left did eaſily their buſineſs.

On the other hand the diſpoſition of the King's army was, perhaps, as juſt as the mind of man was capable of contriving. If one failed, a ſecond ſupported: and if that a third. The enemy could not take two pieces of cannon, but three played directly upon them; nor break one regiment, but two were ready to ſupply the place. If the rebels were repulſed, they were routed; if any part of the King's army broke they rallied, and were ſupported. Had the King's army attacked, it might not have been ſo well; becauſe then the rebels would have been cloſe covered, and conſequently the breaking of them more difficult.

Succeſs is ſometimes the effect of accident; but, in this caſe, chiefly of ſkill. If his Royal Highneſs did not form the whole himſelf, it is immaterial. He that knows when he is well adviſed, is a judge of what is right; and to purſue good advice, is one of the diſtinguiſhing characteriſticks of a great General.

This account, and the order of march of the King's army, were taken from the *Daily Gazetteer*, and other London papers; as is likewiſe the order of battle, (See p. 207. 8. 9.) becauſe it agrees with the account. In other plans there are ſome variations. That publiſhed at Edinburgh by *Robert Cooper* repreſents the armies thus, *viz.* The King's army was drawn up in two lines. The front-line, from left to right, conſiſted of Barrel's, Monro's (now Dejean's), Campbell's (Scots fuſileers), Price's, Cholmondeley's

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mondeley's, the Royal, and Pulteney's regiments, covered by Kingston's horse, and part of Cobham's dragoons; and the second line, of Wolf's, Ligonier's (now Conway's), Sempill's, Bligh's (now Sackville's), Fleming's, Howard's (Old Buffs), Blakeney's, and Battereau's regiments. The rest of Cobham's, and Kerr's dragoons, were a small space to the left of the lines, and a little farther advanced. Pultney's, Blakeney's, and Battereau's, were originally the corps de reserve, but at the beginning of the battle were formed in the above order. The rebel army was likewise drawn up in two lines. The front line, from right to left, consisted of the Atholmen, 700; Camerons, 600; Appin Stewarts, 300; Frasers, 400; Macintoshes, 600; Macfarquhers, 300; Macleods, 100; Maclean's, 100; Clanronald's men, 250; Keppochs, 300; Glengary's, 600; (the three last are Macdonalds); and at a little distance on the left, guards and hussars. The second line was broken into three. The division on the right, consisted, from right to left, of Lord Ogilvy's men; Lord John Drummond's, 400; Lord Kilmarnock's 800; and 35 of Fitzjames's: the centre division, of Glenbucket's, 400; Colonel J. Roy Stewart's, 800; Duke of Perth's, 800; and Lord Lewis Gordon's, 400: and the division on the left, of 35 of Fitzjames's; and the Irish brigade, 400. The Pretender's son was placed behind the centre-division. The right of the rebel-army was outflanked by the front-line of the King's, and still more by the second line, which as there was a battalion more in it, according to this disposition, than in the first, extended farther South.——According to the plan published by *Ch. Corbet*, at London, the King's army was drawn up in two lines, and a reserve; with Kerr's and Cobham's dragoons on the left, and Kingston's horse on the right. The lines here differ (from former accounts), only in this, that Pultney's and Howard's regiments, instead of being in the reserve, are, the former on the right of the Royal in the front-line, and the latter on the right of Fleming's in the second line.——Others said, that the rebel-army was

(Go to p. 210.) drawn

A return of the officers and men in each battalion the day of the battle of Culloden.

Regiments.	Fd off.	Capts	Subs	Serjs	Drums	Rank and file.
Royal Scots	2	5	19	29	25	401
Howard	2	4	10	21	14	413
Barrel	2	5	13	18	10	825
Wolfe	1	7	14	17	11	324
Pulteney	2	6	14	23	19	410
Price	2	7	14	21	11	304
Bligh	2	5	13	22	13	412
Campbell	1	5	13	21	14	358
Sempill	3	5	15	20	14	420
Blakeney	2	4	14	24	12	300
Cholmondeley	2	7	15	21	15	399
Fleming	2	6	18	25	14	350
Dejean	2	6	15	23	19	426
Conway	3	5	16	21	16	325
Batteran	1	7	19	24	18	354
Total	29	84	222	330	225	5521

ORDER *of march of the King's army.*

M. Gen. Huske. *Brigad. Mordaunt.* *Lord Sempill.*

Horfe. G. Bland. Cannon.	Monro	Price	Royal	Horfe. G. Hawley. Cannon.
	Barrel	Scots Fuſileers	Cholmondeley	
	Ligon.	Bligh	Howard	
	Wolf	Sempill	Fleming	
	Blakeney	Battereau	Pulteney	

Lord Loudon's and the Argyleſhire men, Kerr's and Cobham's dragoons, and Kingſton's horſe, were reckoned 2400.

N, B. 40 *of Kingſton's horſe, and ſome Argyleſhire highlanders went in the van, and firſt diſcovered the rebels.*

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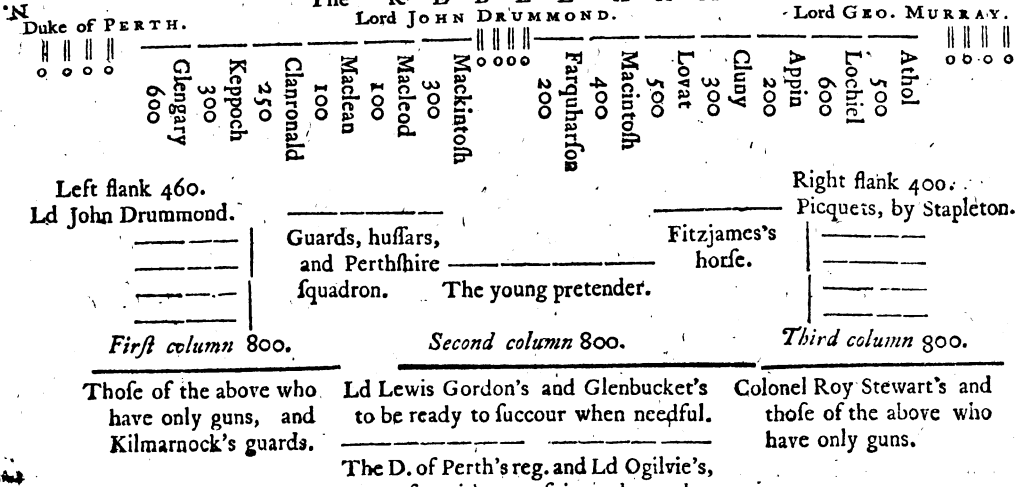
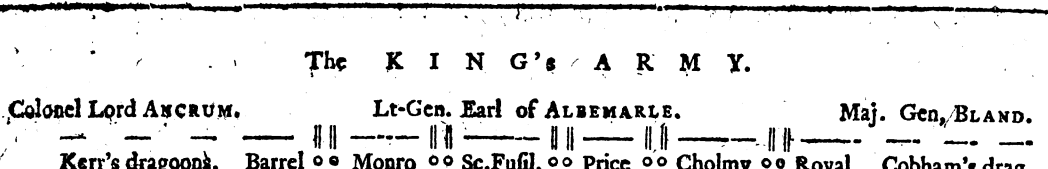

The REBEL ARMY.
N
Duke of PERTH.
Lord JOHN DRUMMOND.
Lord GEO. MURRAY.
Glengary 600
Keppoch 300
Clanronald 250
Maclean 100
Macleod 100
Mackintosh 300
Farquharson 200
Macintosh 400
Lovat 500
Cluny 300
Appin 200
Lochiel 600
Athol 500
Left flank 460.
Ld John Drummond.
Guards, huſſars, and Perthſhire ſquadron.
The young pretender.
Fitzjames's horſe.
Right flank 400.
Picquets, by Stapleton.
First column 800.
Second column 800.
Third column 800.
Thoſe of the above who have only guns, and Kilmarnock's guards.
Ld Lewis Gordon's and Glenbucket's to be ready to ſuccour when needful.
The D. of Perth's reg. and Ld Ogilvie's, not to fire without poſitive order, and to keep cloſe as a freſh corps de reſerve 800.
Colonel Roy Stewart's and thoſe of the above who have only guns.
In all 8350.
S. Park wall, broke down by the Campbells.

The KING's ARMY.



— In all 8811.

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drawn up thus. The front-line, from right to left, was compoſed of Atholmen, Locheil's, Appin's, Roy Stewart's, and Lovat's, in the right wing, commanded by Lord George Murray; the Macintoſhes, and Farquharſon's, in the centre, commanded by Lord John Drummond; and the Maclean's, Macleods, Chiſholms, Clanronald's men, Keppoch's, Glengary's, and Perth's, in the left wing, commanded by the Duke of Perth. Behind the centre of the front, there was a ſecond line, conſiſting of the Iriſh piquets, the French Royal Scots, and the foot guards (Kilmarnock's), commanded by Brigadier Stapleton. This ſecond line was ſupported by two columns, on the right and left. The column behind the right of the front conſiſted of Lord Lewis Gordon's men, commanded, under him, by Stoneywood and Abbochy. The column behind the left of the front, conſiſted of Perth's regiment, Bannerman of Elſick's men and Glenbucket's; but Perth's was drawn forward to the front upon its being outflanked by the King's front. The two columns were covered on their outflanks by the horſe. The Pretender's ſon was between the front and the ſecond line, guarded by a ſmall party of Fitzjames's horſe. Behind the ſecond line was the reſerve, compoſed of Lord Ogilvy's men, and commanded by him.

After the overthrow of the rebels on Culloden (or Drummoſſie) moor, on the 16th of April, the King's army incamped at Inverneſs.—Mr. Grant, with 600 of his followers, joined them on the 21ſt: and they were ordered to be quartered in the Macintoſhes country. The Grants having taken Lord Balmerino, delivered him up to the Duke. He was the perſon who, after the battle of Dunblain in 1715, deſerted to the rebels at Perth. He was then Captain Elphinſton of Shannon's foot.

It was reported, that the rebels, on their retreat Northward, had threatened the Grants with military execution, unleſs they would riſe, and join the Pretender's ſon; and thereupon the Gentlemen of that clan, their chief being from home, thought it expedient, to

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enter

enter into a kind of neutrality, and gave hoſtages to the rebels. Some of theſe were found at Inverneſs when the King's army arrived there, As this ſtep was illegal, the Gentlemen who had been found with the rebels as hoſtages, or had been preſent at treating with them, were ordered up to Edinburgh; and four of them arrived there on the 29th of May.

Advices from Inverneſs, of the 23d of April, bore, that Lord Sutherland was then, with 8 or 900 of his people, in the head of the Fraſers country, and near the Chiſholms, of Strathglaſs; and that Lord Loudon, who was with 1300 men in the iſle of Sky, was ordered to land in Clanronald's country, and to march up to Fort Auguſtus. Several deſerters found among the rebels were hanged at Inverneſs.

Some tranſports, with Skelton's, Handaſyd's, Mordaunt's, and Houghton's regiments of foot on board, which were imbarked at London about the End of March, arrived in Leith road on the 20th of April; and, after ſtaying ſome days, ſailed for the Murray frith to join the army.

On the 22d, 310 French officers and ſoldiers were ſhipped at Inverneſs. They landed at Newcaſtle on the 2d of May, and ſet out thence for Carliſle on the 5th. Moſt of the Pretender's ſon's ſervants were come in to Inverneſs by the 23d of April; and as they were all French, and had not been with him before he came to France, the Duke gave them paſſports to go home.

The Lord Preſident arrived at Inverneſs from the iſle of Sky on the 25th of April. About this time, the Earl of Loudon, the Laird of Macleod, and Sir Alexander Macdonald, (who had raiſed his clan before the battle,) with 1700 men, and General Campbell with 800 men from Argyleſhire, were marched towards Lochaber, in order to clear that country of the rebels, who were then diſperſed all over it, and were beginning to rob and plunder; upwards of 600 Grants were ſent into the Fraſers country; the Monroes, Mackay's, and Sutherlands, were taking care of Roſsſhire, Cromarty, Caithneſs, and Sutherland; Lord Fortroſe was raiſing the Mackenzies,

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to secure the passages towards the isles; orders were given along the coast, to prevent any of the rebels making their escape by sea; Cobham's dragoons marched from Inverness on the 23d of April, and Lord Ancrum with Mark Kerr's on the 30th, to guard the Eastern coast; the militia in several places were raised to guard passes; those of Stirling were posted at the Frew; detachments of the Edinburgh regiment were sent out along the South-side of the Forth, to the West of Edinburgh, and on the 29th seized at Queensferry, and sent in to town, one Robert Murray writer in Edinburgh, a life guard man in the late rebel-army; a proclamation was issued by the Duke, for seizing all rebels and their arms: in short all methods were used for apprehending the rebels; and with such success, that in most parts of the kingdom the prisons were very soon crowded with them.

An account came to Edinburgh on the 30th from Dumbarton, that the Marquis of Tullibardine, and one Mitchell an Italian, who said he had been thirty years in the service of the pretender, had surrendeaed themselves to Mr. Buchanan of Drumakill, a Justice of the Peace, and were by him committed to the castle of Dumbarton. The Marquis was put on board the Eltham at Leith on the 13th of May. It was well for him that he had a strong guard to defend him against the people of Glasgow, who were greatly exasperated against him. He did not pass through Edinburgh, but was carried directly to Leith; where likewise a strong guard protected him from the resentment of the populace. Count Mirobel, a French officer, and Engineer-General to the Pretender's army; Sir James Kinloch, his brother, and his brother-in-law; Henry Ker of Gradyne, and others were likewise taken, in different places, about the beginning of May; and Mr. William Murray of Taymount, brother to the Earl of Dunmore, surrendered himself to a Justice of the Peace in the shire of Mearns. About the end of April, Lord Pitsligo, with many of the foot that followed him, were lurking about the coast

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of Buchan, in hopes of finding an opportunity to make their escape to France.

According to advices from Inverness, of the 30th of April, the Pretender's son, Lord John Drummond, and young Lochiel, who was wounded again in the last battle, were moving about in the Camerons country, and had not above twenty or thirty men with them; Lord Rae's people were sent back to their own country, and Lord Sutherland's were to return home that day; the greatest diligence was using to get a sufficient number of boats upon Loch-ness; as soon as that was done, the Duke proposed to march with fifteen battalions, and Kingston's horse, to Fort Augustus, in two marches; and Lord Loudon, with the Argyleshire militia and the independent companies, were to march through the hills on the right and left, in pursuit of the rebels; Lieutenant Colonel Leighton, of Blakeney's foot, was ordered to take the command of Stirling castle, and Major General Blakeney to go to Inverness, to take that of the troops which should be left there.

On the 29th of April, two French ships, of 34 and 32 guns, came to Arisaig; and on the 1st of May in the evening the Pretender's son came thither from Macdonald of Barisdale's house in Moidart, with such as remained with him; whereupon the ships began to unload arms and ammunition. Upon their arrival, 70 or 80 of the Macleans went from Mull to Arisaig. Beef, and that very poor, was the only support the Pretender's son and company had after coming to that country, excepting 30 bolls of meal from Kinlochmoidart's house, which had lain there since August last, and was all the meal that they had at Arisaig. The Greyhound man of war had come from Ireland to the Isle of Mull a few days before; and her Captain, Noel, having got account, on the 1st of May, that there were two large ships in Loch Nouay, sailed next morning, in company with the Baltimore. In the evening they were joined by the Terror, and at day break of the 3d they stood in for the loch. A little after four o'clock the Greyhound crossed pretty close to the Commodore, gave him a broadside, and then stood

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ſtood to the other. The two ſloops followed the Greyhound's example, and the engagement continued till nine o'clock. By this time the maſt and rigging of our ſhips were ſo much ſhattered, that the ſloops could not keep under ſail; which was the only way they could annoy the enemy, as they were inferior in ſtrength. Therefore, after laying at anchor ſome time, and repairing their damage as well as they could, they left the French, and went to Alroſs bay, to refit. A letter from Fort William bears, that while one of the French ſhips was unloading, the other caſt anchor at the entry of the loch, with a ſpring in her cable, and defended the paſſage againſt the three Britiſh ſhips; and that then ſhe went and unloaded, the other taking her place. In the engagement, one of the French ſhips had 48 men killed, and the other 8, among whom was one Major Hales of the piquets, beſides ſeveral wounded. Our ſhips had only 4 men killed, and 10 wounded. During the action, the country people, and Bariſdale's men, Macdonalds, carried off 240 caſks of brandy, and about 800 l. in caſh. The Macleans who came from Mull, went off on the night after the engagement, and carried with them one of the French longboats, loaded with brandy, and ſome caſh. When the action was over, the Captains would land no more ſtores, finding that thoſe which they had ſet on ſhore were plundered. Some letters bore, that beſides ſtores, ammunition, *&c.* they landed 40,000 l.; that the Captains having upon account of the bad ſituation of the Pretender's ſon's affairs after the battle of Culloden, refuſed to deliver up the money, the rebels, by threats and violence, had forced it from them; and that Murray the Secretary had taken poſſeſſion of it, and ordered it to be ſent to Locharkaig.

The three Britiſh ſhips having in the beſt manner they could repaired the damage done their maſts and rigging, and having been joined on the 4th by the Raven ſloop, they all ſailed from Alroſs on the 6th in the morning, and were in Loch Nouay about noon; but not finding the French ſhips there, they proceeded to Cannay, Barra, and Stornway. At Cannay they got intelligence

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intelligence that the French ships had passed by that island on the 4th in the afternoon, steering towards Barra; but got no further notice of them. They were seen on the 5th off Dunvegan sound, steering to the N. W. On the 13th, the British ships were joined, near Cape Wriath, by the Scarborough and Glasgow men of war, of 20 guns each, and the Trail and Happy Jannet sloops. Having intelligence of a French sloop of eight guns being upon that coast, the Terror, Captain Duff, was ordered to search the lochs on the main from Loch Brim to Ardnamurchan: which he did accordingly; but got no other accounts of her, than that such a vessel was seen off the mouth of Loch Brim on the 9th. On the 17th the Terror joined the Furnace off Glenaly. Next day they went into Loch Nouay; and having sent a party on shore to search for arms and ammuntion, they found and brought off 20 barrels of powder, and about 80 muskets. Captain Fergusson of the Furnace seized 800 stand of arms at Macdonald of Barisdale's house in the isle of Rasay.

A letter from Old Rock (a fictitious name) in Ardnamurchan, of May 10. bears, that the Pretender's son, the Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond, Lord Elcho, Sheriden, O Sullivan, Mr. Buchanan, and many others whose names were not known, made their escape on Sunday the 4th on board the above two French men of war from Arisaig; that Secretary Murray remained to take care of the money and stores landed; that the clans talked of assembling at Strontian, and to keep themselves in a moving body, to harrass and fatigue the King's troops, in hopes to obtain terms; that their chiefs assured the clans, that the two ships which arrived parted at sea with fifteen more, full of men, money, arms, *&c*; and that the Pretender's son promised to return soon with powerful succours; but that this gained no credit even amongst the rebels themselves, *&c*. On the other hand, according to advices from Inverness of the 23d the escape of the Pretender's son was not absolutely certain. He was some time before, in the North of the island Lewis; but failing of a vessel there to

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carry

carry him off, he went to Barra, at the South end of it; and it was afterwards reported, that he had miſſed the two French ſhips, and was returned to Moidart. And Major General Campbell writes, from Appin May 21. that advice was received from Mingary caſtle, of the 19th, that the Pretender's ſon went off in an open boat eight days before the French ſhips arrived, and landed in the iſle of Lewis, with Colonel O Sullivan, Angus Macdonald, brother to Kinlochmoidart, and only two ſervants, and that they propoſed to take a veſſel from Lewis for France; that the Duke of Perth imbarked on board one of the French ſhips, in ſo bad a ſtate of health that his life was deſpaired of; and that there had been frequent meetings of the chiefs of the rebels, and a conſiderable number of their followers, near the braes of Lochaber, who were ſuppoſed to have aſſembled in order to the making a diſtribution of the 40,000l. landed out of the French ſhips.

About the beginning of May, James Stirling of Keir, Hugh his ſon, who was one of the Pretender's ſon's lifeguards and James Stirling of Craigbarnet, were apprehended on board a Dutch ſhip employed to carry tobacco from the Clyde to Holland. They were committed to Dumbarton caſtle; whence the two laſt made their eſcape on the 19th.

Some of the rebels, with deſign to make their eſcape, got on board the ſhip of James Wemyſs, of the North Ferry of Dundee, as he was riding off the lights of the Tay, and having put to ſea landed at Bergen in Norway. But orders having been given by the King of Denmark, to inſpect all Britiſh veſſels that ſhould come into his ports, and to confine all paſſengers that had not proper paſſports, the rebels were apprehended the 13th of May and committed priſoners to the caſtle of Bergen, by order of the Governor, to the number of thirteen; among whom it was ſaid were, David Graham of Duntroon, called Lord Dundee, Lord Ogilvy, Fletcher of Benſchie, Hunter of Burnſide, David Fotheringham the rebel Governor of Dundee, David Graham merchant in Dundee, his ſon Alexander, Henry Patullo,——Sandilands

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dilands younger of Bourdeaux merchant. Thomas Blair merchant in Dundee, and Alexander Blair writer in Edinburgh.

According to advices from Inverneſs of May 8th Lord Loudon was to march from Fort Auguſtus, with 18 independant companies; the Earls of Cromerty and Kilmarnock, and Lord Balmerino, were to ſet out next day for London; Brigadier Mordaunt was to be detached with a body of troops for Perth, to replace the Heſſians; and the Duke had ordered the tranſports for Shields, to revictual, in order to imbark the Heſſian troops for Flanders with all expedition. A very conſiderable quantity of proviſions had been amaſſed at Inverneſs. About this time a conſiderable number of the rebels had been brought into Inverneſs by the Grants, and three ſhips were lying off that town with priſoners. The three Peers above mentioned, were ſent on board the Exeter man of war, arrived at London on the 20th, and were committed priſoners to the tower for high treaſon. Lord Macloed was left at Inverneſs.

On the 19th Brigadier Mordaunt, with the Royal, Pultney's, and Sempill's battalions, and ſix pieces of cannon, arrived at Perth from Inverneſs, by the hill-road, and met with no diſturbance in their march. They burnt ſome rebels houſes and nonjurant's meeting-houſes in the way. Several people of the Pariſh of Kinguſie in Badenoch, who had been ſeduced and compelled by the rebels to join them, went to Blair of Athol, conducted by Mr. William Blair their Miniſter, John Macpherſon of Benchar, and Donald Macpherſon, of Cullinbre, and delivered up their arms to Brigadier Mordaunt, ſubmitting themſelves to the King's mercy. They were all permitted to return home peaceably. The Heſſians had then moved from Perth, and were incamped at Burntiſland. The Prince of Heſſe, the Earl of Crawford, *&c.* came to Edinburgh on the 21ſt. His Serene Highneſs having dined with his Majeſty's High Commiſſioner on the 22d, attended his Grace after dinner to the Aſſembly houſe, and ſat on the throne at the Commiſſioner's right hand, his chair placed a little back-

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T ward's.

ward. The Prince set out for London on the the 24th, arrived there on the 1st of June, and waited on the King next day.

About the beginning of April, proclamations were issued by the Lord Lieutenant and council of Ireland, for seizing the persons commonly called the Duke of Perth, the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Lords Pitfligo, Nairn, Ogilvy, George Murray, and Lewis Gordon, Cameron of Lochiel, Gordon of Glenbucket, Secretary Murray, Glengary, or Maclachlan, offering 1000l. reward for each of them, and suitable rewards for any other person concerned in the rebellion, in case they shall land or attempt to land in Ireland; and also offering rewards for discovering and apprehending any person who should be concerned in inlisting any of his Majesty's subjects of that kingdom for foreign service, or for that of the Pretender or his son.

By letters from Inverness, of May 22d Major General Bland was sent with three battalions to Fort Augustus; Fleming's battalion was to march next day to Aberdeen, and Major Mackenzie thro' the hills to Strathbogie, with Lord Loudon's battalion, his Lordship being himself employed at the head of the independant companies, and Lieutenant Colonel Campbell gone to serve under his father the Major-General, who was at the head of the Argyleshire-men.

Major-General Campbell wrote from Appin, May 21st that, on the 18th Alexander Macdonald of Glenco surrendered his arms, and those of his people who were at Glenco, to his Exellency, submitting himself to the King's mercy; that Appin's people who were at home had followed his example; and that both he and Glenco had given notice thereof to such of their men as were absent, ordering them to return to their own country.

On the 23d, the Duke set out from Inverness, and next day arrived at Fort Augustus, with eleven battalions of foot, and Kingston's horse. By letters from the last named place, dated the 27th, his Royal Highness proposed to send Houghton's battalion next Thursday half-

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half-way to Fort William, to take poſt and ſecure the road; to go thither himſelf the ſame day, and return the next; and on Saturday that battalion was to go into Fort William, to relieve the remains of Guiſe's. Lord Loudon was with the Duke on the 26th, and informed him, that having marched with the highlanders under his command, and ſome regular troops commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Howard and Major Lockhart, againſt the Camerons and Macdonalds, who were aſſembled to the number of 300 for the ſecurity of Locheil and Barifdale, they immmediately diſperſed on the appearance of Loudon's advanced parties, Lochiel ordering every one to ſhift for himſelf. Upon their diſperſion, the Camerons ſent a perſon to deſire they might be admitted to bring in their arms, and ſubmit themſelves to the King's mercy. By the 17th Lord Loudon was gone into Badenoch for two or three days, to diſarm the rebels there; and it was thought they would immediately ſubmit; as the Macphersons had in great meaſure done to Brigadier Mordaunt, in his paſſage thro' their country to Perth. As the rebels were by this time in a manner diſperſed, the Duke propoſed not to ſtay in that country above a week longer, unleſs ſomething extraordinary ſhould happen, but to march South by the King's road to Crief.

The large fir-wood at Abernethy, belonging to the Laird of Grant, was ſet on fire in ſeveral places at once; by which that Gentleman was a loſer in ſeveral thouſand pounds. It was ſuſpected to have been done by ſome of the rebels.

Meſſ. Lauder and Rattray of Edinburgh ſurgeons, whom the rebels had taken with them when they went into England, were ſet at liberty after being made priſoners at Inverneſs, and returned home. But a ſhort while after their arrival, they were ordered to London, and ſet out on the 28th of May, with one of the King's meſſengers.

Lieutenant Colonel Campbell arrived at Fort William on the 24th, and next day joined his father the Major-General at Appin. They were to imbark at Dunſtaf-

nage on the 27th, in order to take poſſeſſion of Strontian, where it was reported. that ſome few of the rebels continued in arms.

The tranſports from Inverneſs, which had carried North the four regiments before mentioned arrived in Leith-road on the 26th, as did thoſe from Newcaſtle next day, Theſe laſt having brought proviſions and forage for the whole, preparations were made to ſail with the Heſſians with all expedition.

On the 29th of April, a congratulatory addreſs to the King, and the thanks of the houſe to the Duke, on the victory at Colloden, the former moved for by the Duke of Malborough, and the latter by the Earl of Sandwich, were agreed to by the Lords. The houſe waited on his Majeſty with their addreſs, and ordered the Lord Chancellor to tranſmit their thanks to his Royal Highneſs, thus expreſſed, *viz.* "Reſolved, That the thanks of this houſe be given to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland, for the great and eminent ſervices performed by him to his Majeſty and his kingdoms againſt the rebels; and that his Royal Highneſs be aſſured of the juſt ſenſe which this houſe has, in how diſtinguiſhed a manner the late victory, was owing to his valour and conduct, and to his indefatigable zeal, activity, and labours, in the cauſe of his Royal father and of his country, and of our ardent wiſhes that his Royal Highneſs may have the glory entirely to complete the great work which he has ſo ſucceſsfully begun and carried on." To which his Royal Highneſs ſent the following anſwer, dated at Inverneſs May, 7. *viz.*

My Lord Chancellor,

I Could not poſſibly have received a more welcome and affecting proof of that diſtinguiſhed zeal and loyalty which the houſe of Lords have conſtantly ſhewn to his Majeſty's perſon and government, than by their favourable acceptance of my endeavours for the publick ſervice; and I deſire you will lay before the houſe my ſincere acknowledgments for the regard they have ſhewn me on this occaſion.

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The resolution and firmness expressed by every officer and soldier in his Majesty's army under my command, deserve the highest commendation; but the guilt and terror of that infatuated multitude, who vainly hoped, by unprovoked tumultuary arms, and a contemptible foreign assistance, to shake an establishment founded in the hearts of his Majesty's subjects, afforded us so easy a victory, that I can only express my gratitude for the favorable impression with which the news of it was received by the house of Lords; whose good opinion and thanks I shall ever esteem as one of the most honourable testimonies and rewards that any action of mine could receive.

I have only to add my thanks to yourself, for the obliging manner in which you have executed the commands of the house of Lords, and for the good wishes with which you have accompanied them, of the reality of which I am firmly persuaded.

My Lord Chancellor,

Your most affectionate friend,

WILLIAM.

In like manner, the commons presented an address to the King on this occasion, and ordered the Speaker to transmit their thanks to the Duke. Both were resolved on upon the 28th of April. The former was moved for by Lord Coke, seconded by Richard Grenville, Esq; the latter by Sir Henry Liddell, seconded by Welbore Ellis, Esq; and is thus expressed, *viz.* "Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That the thanks of this house be given to his Royal Highness the Duke, for the eminent and very important services performed by him to his Majesty and the Kingdom against the rebels, particularly in the late great defeat of them in Scotland, by his Majesty's forces under his Royal Highness's command."—To which his Royal Highness sent the following answer, dated likewise at Inverness. May 7. *viz.*

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Mr. Speaker,

I Desire you would acquaint the house of Commons with the just sense I have of the regard they have been pleased to shew me upon this occasion; and to assure them, that nothing can be more agreeable to me, than their congratulation upon the success of his Majesty's arms, which is so authentick a testimonial of their steady zeal and loyalty for his Majesty's person and government.

Their esteem and approbation of my endeavonrs in the publick service, fill my wishes: and it will always be my study to deserve the continuance of their good opinion.

I cannot enough extol my own good fortune, in being placed by his Majesty at the head of an army, which expressed all along the best affections and the greatest ardour, and crowned all by the resolution shewn every officer and soldier in the day of action; to which, under God, our success was owing.

I return you my thanks for the cordiality and affection with which you have executed the commands of the house of Commons.

Mr. Speaker,

Your most affectionate friend,

WILLIAM.

On the 13th of May, the following message was presented to the commons by Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and read by Mr. Speaker, *viz.*

GEORGE R.

THE desire which his Majesty's faithful Commons have expressed, to shew some publick mark of their approbation of the services performed by his dearly beloved son the Duke of Cumberland, towards suppressing the rebellion, and preserving our happy constitution in church and state, has given his Majesty the greatest satisfaction. His Majesty is therefore persuaded, that upon this occasion he complies with the inclination of this house, in recommending to their consideration, the setting

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tling an additional revenew upon his ſaid ſon and his iſſue-male, with ſuch proviſions as ſhall be judged proper.

Thereupon the houſe reſolved to go into a committee on this meſſage next day; which they did accordingly, and on the 15th agreed to the report, all *nemine contradicente, viz.* "That an additional revenew of 25,000l. *per annum* be ſettled on his Royal Highneſs William Duke of Cumberland, and the heirs male of his body, for the good ſervices done by his Royal Highneſs to his country, to be iſſuing and payable out of the duties and revenues compoſing the aggregate fund."—His Royal Highneſs had before only 15,000 *per annum*, payable out of the civil liſt.

On the 29th of April, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer acquainted the Commons, that ſeveral witneſſes attended at the door, who were ready and willing to give an account of ſome perſons who had appeared in arms on the part of the rebels during the preſent rebellion. Some of them were accordingly examined next day, and the reſt on the 1ſt and 6th of May. On finiſhing the examination on the 6th, it was ordered, *nemine contradicente* that a bill be brought in to attaint ſeveral perſons particularly named. Which was accordingly preſented on the 8th, and read a firſt time; read a ſecond time on the 9th and committed for the 12th; that day gone through in the committee, reported, and ordered to be ingroſſed; and on the 13th, read a third time, paſſed, and ſent to the Lords.—Their Lordſhips read it a firſt time the ſame day; next day, read it a ſecond time, and examined the witneſſes formerly examined by the other houſe, (of whoſe names they were acquainted by the Commons upon a meſſage ſent them the ſame day for that purpoſe, *viz, Charles Campbell, John Hickſon, John, Vore, William Haſly, John Gray, James Barkley, Hugh Douglaſs, James Logie, Angus Macinnon, George Hay, Patrick Goldie*, and *John Read*); after finiſhing the examinations, committed it to a committee on the 15th, who went through, and reported it without amendments; and read a third time, and paſſed it on the 16th.

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The rebel-prisoners taken at Carlisle were brought to the bar at the Old Baily on the 11th of April, and having answered to their names, were ordered to prepare for their trial against the next session. On the 17th of May, they were again brought to the bar; and council in behalf of the Attorney-General having moved, That they might be continued in custody till he should be prepared to prosecute them, it was granted, and they were remanded back into custody.

Besides the accounts of, and letters relating to the battle of Culloden, already inserted, we have seen others; some of which are as follows.

Alexander Taylor, a soldier in the Royal, in a letter to his wife, says, "The battle begun with cannonading, and continued for half an hour or more with great guns. But our gunners galling their lines, they betook them to their small arms, sword and pistol, and came running upon our front-line like troops of hungry wolves, and fought with intrepidity. But the thunder of our fire, and the continuation of it, began to slacken their fury. In about forty minutes they began to reel, and fought for some time in a hover: but the fire rather increasing, the arms being clean, and the men past consternation, being encouraged by the Duke and Generals example, they doubled their efforts, and the highlanders took plain flight."

A Gentleman in the King's army, in a letter from Inverness, said, "On our approach near the enemy, the army was formed in an instant; and his Royal Highness rode along the lines, speaking to every battalion, yea almost to every platoon. Had you seen him, as I did, you could never forget him. His presence and intrepid behaviour was enough to inspire the most pusillianimous with courage; and undoubtedly had a wonderful effect. *Depend*, (said he to the men as he rode by me), *depend, my lads, on your bayonets. Let them mingle with you; let them know the men they have to deal with.* At about a quarter after one, the enemy began to cannonade us; aiming, 'tis believed, their first shot at the Duke's person; whom they might easily distinguish by

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by their glaſſes. But our cannon ſoon returned the compliment; and you might eaſily perceive it put them into ſome diſorder. Their cannon, after ſome diſcharges without any great effect, ceaſed firing; and the front-line advanced on us with great ſwiftneſs, and great appearance of reſolution; inclining, as they came on, towards our left; our cannon, loaded with greap-ſhot, playing on them the whole time with great execution. We received them with the full diſcharge of the fire of our front line, and kept ſuch a briſk and continual fire on them, that it was impoſſible for men, whoſe dependence was chiefly on their ſwords, and who therefore fired very little, and that very badly, to ſuſtain it. However, their right broke in on Barrel's regiment, notwithſtanding their fire. But they received them very gallantly at the point of their bayonets; and the regiment on the left of the ſecond line ſuſtained Barrel's, the rebels, at laſt, gave way in the greateſt hurry and confuſion imaginable; and ſcarce was their flight begun before they were out of our ſight, their rear line never offering to ſuſtain them.—Every body allowed, who ſaw them dead in the field of battle, that men of a larger ſize, larger limbs, and better proportioned, could not be found. —They were 9000 men, whereof 4800 were highlanders; and I am confident we were not 7000.—A day or two after the battle, large detachments were ſent out; who killed ſome, and brought in ſeveral priſoners; among whom was the Lady Macintoſh, a woman of a maſculine ſpirit, who raiſed the clans of that name, notwithſtanding her huſband was in Lord Loudon's army. She behaved quite undaunted, and with great unconcern. She ſaid we had made great ſlaugher of her regiment, for that all her officers were killed except three.

And we had the following paragraph in the *National Journal*, a London news-paper begun about three months before the battle, *viz.* "By all accounts of the battle of Culloden, from thoſe of both ſides who ſeem to be impartial, it is allowed, that the *young Pretender* behaved with great courage and ſedatneſs; that, juſt before the battle began, he rode along the line, and

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thro' the ranks of his army, encouraging the men both by his voice and action; that, in the engagement, he had his horſe ſhot under him, and his groom killed while he was mounting another; that ſeveral of the people about him were killed; that he endeavoured to rally his broken troops; and, when he found that impoſſible, he put himſelf at the head of the Iriſh troops and ſome of the clans, who retired in ſuch order, that the three ſquadrons of our horſe, ſent to purſue them, could make no impreſſion. Then, with regard to the troops he had under his command, if we conſider the circumſtances they were in, we cannot reckon them ſuch *poltroons* as they have been repreſented. They had been for ſeveral weeks without any pay, and without any proviſions but a *ſcrimp allowance of oatmeal;* which was the reaſon of their being ſo few in number, not being much above 5000, and many of theſe *not compleatly armed;* they had, the night before the action, marched twelve miles, with an intent to ſurprize the Duke; and when they found, or thought themſelves diſappointed in that, they marched as far back again; and, being cloſely followed by the Duke's army, were obliged to engage in battle before they had either *ſleep* or *refreſhment;* which was enough to diſpirit any troops in the world: yet, notwithſtanding all this, their front-line, eſpecially their right, attacked with a fury next to madneſs. But being flanked, in their advance to the attack, by a concealed battery of ſix pieces of cannon upon the Duke's left, and received with great firmneſs and intrepidity by our troops, who kept up their fire till the enemy came up to the *muzzles of their muſkets;* and being oppoſed by *freſh* battalions from the rear, after they had broke thro' ſome of thoſe that were in the front-line, they were thrown into confuſion, and at laſt entirely defeated; with a ſlaughter among their *low-country foot*, and the *lookers-on*, which we cannot at preſent give a true account of; for, as to the *highlanders*, moſt of them retreated in ſuch order as to prevent their ſuffering much in the purſuit."

Before

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Before the end of May, the Duke had moved from Inverneſs to Fort Auguſtus. Kingſton's horſe, Barrel's Wolfe's, Skelton's, Sackville's, Campbel's (Scots fuſileers), Houghton's, Dejean's, and Conway's foot, marched with his Royal Highneſs, on the 23d. Howard's, Price's, and Cholmondely's foot, under the command of Major General Bland, had gone the ſame rout on the 16th; as had likewiſe Lord Loudon, at the head of eighteen independent companies, about that time, or a little before. Fleming's battalion was ordered for Aberdeen, and Loudon's for Strathbogie. Brigadier Mordaunt was at Perth, with the Royal, Pultney's, and Sempill's battalions. Handaſyd's, Mordaunt's, Blakeney's, and Battereau's batttalions, were left at Inverneſs, under the command of Major General Blakeney. Major General Campbell, and his ſon the Lieutenant Colonel, were at Appin on the 25th, preparing to imbark at Dunſtafnage for Strontian. The tranſports were arrived in Leith road on the 27th in order to take on board the Heſſian troops, who were then incamped at Burntiſland; and the Prince of Heſſe was gone for London.

A perſon was taken up at Inverneſs as a ſpy, and hanged the day before the Duke left that place, where alſo twenty eight deſerters had met with the like fate. The ſame day, the rebels of Glenmoriſton, Urquhart, and Stratherrick, ſubmitted. About fifty priſoners, from Brechin, Aberdeen, and Banffſhire, were brought to Inverneſs on the 24th of May.

By other accounts we have the following particulars relating to Lord Loudon's expedition. On the 22d of May, 600 choſen men of General Bland's brigade, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Howard and Major Lockhart, and 2000 highlanders, under Lord Loudon and Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, marched from Fort Auguſtus. Notice was received, that Lochiel, Bariſdale, Secretary Murray, and a Scots French officer, with 300 or as ſome ſay 500 men, were about Lochiel's houſe; and it was deſigned to ſurpriſe them. Lord Loudon with his men arrived at Lochiel's at noon on the 23d. Before croſſing the river at Lochay, they obſerved

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ed a great ſmock at Lochiel, which was ſuppoſed to be the houſe ſet on fire by the rebels; but on coming to the place, it was found to be a mill, where they had a quantity of meal, which they had not time to carry off. A body of 350 Camerons were ſeen upon their march by the North-ſide of Locherkaig; and Lord Loudon expected that they would be intercepted by Lieutenant Colonel Howard, who was to march his men that way. But theſe roads being extremely bad, this party could not come up ſoon enough; and ſo the rebels got off by the tops of the mountains, except about eleven ſtragglers, who were taken. Howard's party carried theſe and a great number of cattle to Fort Auguſtus, after having burnt many of the rebels houſes or huts.

The bodies of nine ſoldiers were found in a ciſtern in the old barracks at Fort Auguſtus. A letter from that place, of May 26th ſaid, that they were all drowned by the rebels, after having been made priſoners; that the bodies were then floating; and that the rebel-priſoners brought in that day by Howard's party, were ſet down by the well, to view their own cruelty.—It was ſaid in the above letter, that the Duke lay in a tent, but that a neat bower was built for him near the ruins of Fort Auguſtus; and that tho' the rebels had expended nineteen barrels of powder in blowing up that fort, yet there ſtill remained ſome rooms of it, which were uſeful for kitchens, *&c.* to the Duke, and Lieutenat Generals Hawley and Albemarle.

When Lieutenant Colonel Howard and his party returned to Fort Auguſtus, Loudon's highlanders were left about Lochiel's houſe; and the corps under Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, conſiſting of the Argyleſhire militia that had been with the army, joined Major General Campbell at Appiſi.—On the 27th, the Major General ſailed with 1000 choice Argyleſhire men, ſome ſaid 2000, from Dunſtafnage, anchored that night in Tobermory bay in Mull, and next day arrived at Strontian, the heart of Lochiel's country. Here Mr. Cameron of Dungallon brought in his men (46 in number,) and arms to his Excellency, and with them ſurrendered

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to

to the King's mercy; as did likewise the inhabitants of Morven and Ardnamurchan. At this time, Lochiel, his uncle Ludovick, Secretary Murray, and some others, were on the North-side of Lochiel. They had no great attendance; and it was expected they must soon quit their quarters.

At three o'clock in the morning of the 30th, the Duke, with 100 of Kingston's horse as his guard, set out on horseback from Fort Augustus, and before nine reached Fort William. A little after his arrival, all the officers were called upon, had the honour to kiss his Royal Highness's hand for the brave defence of the place during the late siege, and were ordered to acquaint the private men that he gave them thanks for their good behaviour on that occasion. He returned to Fort-Augustus the same day.——Houghton's regiment came into Fort William on the 31st, to relieve the remains of Guise's.

Advices from Fort Augustus, of June 5. bore, that Lord George Sackville and Major Wilson were marched to the barrack of Bernera, with 500 foot, from whence they were to proceed Southward along the coast till they came over-again the head of Loch Arkek, where Lieutenant Colonel Cornwalls was with another body of 300; that from thence both corps were to proceed Southwards thro' the countries of the Macdonalds of Moidart and Knoidart; that Captain Scot, with the old garrison of Fort William, was to advance South to meet them; that Major-General Campbell, or the officer commanding the Argyleshire militia in his absence, was to scour the country about Mingary castle; that it was hoped this force would disperse the small remains of the rebels, as by confirmed accounts received from different parts there were not 50 of them together in any one place; and that the Duke had received authentick intelligence, that the Pretender's son imbarked in a small boat, three or four days after the action of Culloden, for Long island, from whence he was dodging backwards and forwards in a small vessel, even some time after the French ships were off

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the coaſt. It was ſaid, that at the date all the rebel-priſoners were ſailed for Newcaſtle.

About this time a ſmall French ſloop appeared on the Weſt coaſt. The Agnes and Mary of Irvine, John Barber, was taken by her on the 9th of June. Mr. Barber wrote, that the French veſſel had only four carriage guns, and ſome blunderbuſhes and ſmall arms for the ſailors, who were but about twenty in number; that there were on board, two officers, and nine or ten other Gentlemen, three of them in very good dreſs; that the French Captain neither pillaged the Scots ſhip, nor demanded any ranſom for her, but took Mr. Barber on board, to pilot them in to Lochbroom; that finding Mr. Barber was unacquainted on that coaſt, they put into Aſſint, ſet him aſhore, preſſed another pilot, and immediately put to ſea again, bound, as Mr. Barber conjectured, for Sky, in order, if poſſible, to find out the Pretender's ſon.

Mean while Major-General Campbell, and Lord Loudon were very active in ſcouring the highlands. From Strontian, two detachments were ſent by the Major-General, to ſearch for the rebels on the ſide of Loch Sheal, a freſh water lake that extends to within ten miles of Lochiel in Lochaber. Captain Duncan Campbell of Inveraw, of Lord John Murray's highland regiment, who commanded one of the detachments, diſcovered eight pieces of cannon ſunk ten feet deep in the loch, and got them up, ſuppoſed to have been concealed by Lochiel, who had been in that place a few days before; and Captain John Noble, of the Scots fuſileers, who commanded the other detachment, ſeized nineteen barrels of powder and thirty two cheſts of arms and ammunition, which were buried below ground. Several diſcoveries of the like kind were made. Two brothers of Kinlochmoidart ſubmitted to the General. One of them, Encas Macdonald, was formerly a banker at Paris, and came over with the Pretender's ſon. By the 27th of June, accounts came to Edinburgh, that his Excellency, having left the command to his ſon the Lieutenant-Colonel, had himſelf imbarked with 200 men, and ſome marines, for

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the

the remote islands, in quest of the rebel-chiefs, and the Pretender's son, who were reported to have gone from the continent in an open boat for the Lewis, and neither vessel nor people returned.

Lord Loudon was likewise perpetually in motion. According to a letter from Island Stalker, of May 29th. his Lordship set out, the day before, from Lochiel's for Kinlochmoidart, with 2000 men, and expected to meet Major-General Campbell in a few days. By the 2d of June, he marched thro' Lochaber, and was to go thence to Arisaig and Moidart, to scour these parts. A short while after this, his Lordship was in Badenoch; where he seized seven or eight load of arms, and sent them to Inverness. A son of Glenbucket's, who is blind, was taken in Strathdon, and carried to Inverness by his Lordship. From Ruthven in Badenoch, parties were sent to scour the hill of Minnigage, lying between that place and Blair in Athol, where some rebels were said to be lurking.

Parties were sent from Fort Augustus all round the highlands. Where-ever these came, they left nothing that belonged to the rebels. They burnt all the houses, and carried off the cattle; part of which the Duke ordered for the use of the army, and sent the rest South. A strict eye was kept on the shipping on the East coast; and several ships of war were cruising on the West coast. By these means the rebels being distressed exceedingly, several of them submitted. Besides those of Glenmoriston, Urquhart, and Stratherrick, formerly mentioned, some of the Macdonalds of Glengary are said to have come in to Inverness before the Duke, left that place; and the rest of them came in to his Royal Highness at Fort Augustus on the 11th of June. About 100 Frasers surrendered to General Blakney at Inverness on the 10th. A little while after, Barrisdale submitted to the Duke, and was sent home with his followers. In short, the rebels are said to have come in in shoals; and that by the middle of June upwards of 8000 firelocks, 7000 broad Swords, including those taken at the battle, and a great number of targets,

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gets, &c. had been got from the rebels, alſo 57 pieces of cannon, in all. It was ſaid, that ſome of the rebels that ſurrendered before the Duke left Inverneſs, were put aboard the ſhips, and ſent to England with the reſt of the priſoners. Others were ordered home, to anſwer when called for.

Letters from the army ſaid, that the Duke began with the rebels in a gentle, paternal way, with ſoft admonitions, and a promiſe of pardon and protection to all common people that would bring in their arms, and ſubmit to mercy; that ſome complied, and were diſmiſſed in peace with protections to their habitations; but that great numbers, eſpecially the Camerons, Macdonalds, Grants, and Fraſers, were perfidious, often promiſing to ſurrender at an appointed time, and as often breaking their promiſes; that others equivocated, pretending to ſurrender their arms, by bringing in old uſeleſs guns and ſwords, while they concealed their beſt arms at home; that his Royal Highneſs has therefore been obliged to lay the rod more heavy upon them, by carying fire and ſword through their country, and driving off their cattle, which were brought in great numbers, ſometimes 2000 in a drove; and that the people were in a moſt deplorable way, and muſt have periſhed by ſword or famine. In particular, Lochiel's houſe, at Achnacary, was burnt on the 28th of May; Kinlochmoidart's, (who had been a priſoner at Edinburgh ſince November), Keppoch's, Glengary's, Cluny's, and Glengyle's, are ſerved in the ſame manner; vaſt numbers of the common people's houſes or huts are likewiſe laid in aſhes; all the cattle, ſheep, goats, &c. are carried off; and ſeveral poor people, eſpecially women and children, have been found dead in the hills, ſuppoſed to be ſtarved.——Three men found in arms in Lochaber were hanged. Even the well-affected in the rebellious countries are likewiſe ſufferers; as appears by the following extract of a letter from the North, dated June 21, *viz.* "As the moſt of this pariſh is burnt to aſhes, and all the cattle belonging to the rebels carried off by his his Majeſty's forces, there

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there is no such thing as money or penyworth to be got in this desolate place. I beg therefore you'll advise me what steps I shall take to recover my stipend. My family is now much increased, by the wives and infants of those in the rebellion in my parish crowding for a mouthful of bread to keep them from starving; which no good Christian can refuse notwithstanding the villany of their husbands and fathers to deprive us of our religion, liberty, and bread." And the calamity is likely to become still more general, by parties of soldiers seizing and publickly auctioning the effects of rebels, without a warrant from a civil court, till the criminals be legally convicted, to the great disappointment of their lawful creditors; and this even in countries that seem to be in a state of perfect tranquillity, the courts of justice sitting, and people full at libery to put the laws in due execution; nay within a very few miles of the city of Edinburgh, during the session of the supreme court of the nation. Sometimes these things are done on Sundays, which gives offence to religious people.

The detachment under the command of Lord George Sackville returned to Fort Augustus on the 10th of June. They brought in eight prisoners, none of them of note, and upwards of 2400 black cattle, besides a great number of goats and sheep. As they reported, that several small parties of the rebels were still in arms, it was thought the pretender's son was yet in the country. Lord George Sackville's baggage was taken by a party of about a dozen, a very little way behind the detachment. They took all his horses, bedding, linnen, provisions; and after plundring his servants, released them.

Amidst the fatigues and hardships the soldiers are obliged to suffer, the brave Duke makes all about him as jovial as the place will possibly admit of; as says a letter from Fort Augustus, of June 27. in which we have these particulars. "Last Wednesday the Duke gave two prizes to the soldiers to run heats for, on bare backed galloways taken from the rebels; when eight started for the first, and ten for the second prize.

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Theſe galloways are little larger than a good tup, and there was excellent ſport. Yeſterday his Royal Highneſs gave a fine holland ſmock to the ſoldiers wives, to be run for on theſe galloways, alſo bare backed, and riding with their limbs on each ſide the horſe, like men. Eight ſtarted; and there were three of the fineſt heats ever ſeen. The prize was won, with great difficulty, by one of the Old Buffs Ladies. In the evening, General Hawley and Colonel Howard run a match for twenty guineas, on two of the above ſhalties; which General Hawley won by about four inches."

Several maſs-houſes in the North, particularly about Strathbogie, have been pulled down by the ſoldiers. Some non-juranr Epiſcopal meeting-houſes have been likewiſe burnt and deſtroyed, and they are generally ſhut up all over the kingdom.

About the end of May, Glengyle, with a party of Macgregors, were in the hill between Crief and Dunkeld; and, it was ſaid, attempted to levy the publick money. But they were obliged to make off, upon Brigadier Mordaunt's detaching 300 men from Perth in queſt of them. One the 7th of June, a body of 700 men entered Balquhidder, and proceeded to the braes of Monteith. But not finding Glengyle and his party, they burnt his houſe, and all the houſes in Craigroyſton poſſeſſed by the Macgregors, and carried the cattle to Creif. Thoſe belonging to people not in the rebellion, were however given back,

The ſhip Gordon of Glaſgow, beloninging to a merchant in London, ſailing for the Weſt Indies with 81 men and boys and 26 women and ſervants on board, they mutinied on the 13th of May about 120 leagues Weſt of the iſland Torrie, laid the maſter in irons, and were carrying the ſhip to the iſle of Sky, with deſign to join the rebels; but, on the 29th, ſhe was ſeized by Capt. Brett, of his Majeſty's ſhip the Triton, off the Lewis. Ten men and three women eſcaped in the boat, on ſeeing the Triton coming up; the reſt were made priſoners.

All

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All the outparties of the Edinburgh regiment, ſtationed at Higgins nook, Queensferry, *&c.* for ſeizing ſtraggling rebels, having been called in, the regiment was diſbanded on the 30th of May.

On the 3d of June arrived at Edinburgh from Inverneſs, in their way to Carliſle, about 30 French officers, with ten of their ſervants or private men, upon parole, among whom was M. Boyer, the French Abaſſador to the Pretender's ſon.

Fourteen rebels colours taken at Culloden, were brought to Edinburgh on the 31ſt of May, and lodged in the caſtle. On Wedneſday the 4th of June, at noon they were brought down to the croſs, the Pretender's own ſtandard carried by the hangman, and the reſt by chimney ſweepers, eſcorted by a detachment of Lee's regiment. The Sheriffs, attended by the heralds, purſevants, trumpets, city-conſtables, *&c.* and eſcorted by the city-guard, walked out from the parliament cloſe to the croſs; where proclamation was made by the eldeſt herald, That the colours belonging to the rebels were ordered by the Duke to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. The Pretender's own ſtandard was then put in a fire prepared for the purpoſe, and afterwards all rhe reſt, one by one, a herald always proclaiming to whom each belonged, the trumpets ſounding, and the populace, of which there was a great number aſſembled, huzzaing. A fifteenth ſtandard was burnt at Edinburgh, with like ſolemnity, and another at Glaſgow, on the 25th. We have not heard that the device of a crown and coffin, or the motto TANDEM TRIUMPHANS, was upon any of theſe; and it is doubted if ever there was any ſuch ſtandard, though it was currently ſo reported.

On the 10th of June, the tranſports, with the Heſſian troops on board, under the command of the Earl of Crawford, ſailed from Leith road, and in a few days arrived at Williamſtadt. In the paſſage, they met the Syren man of war, with the Duke of Bedford on board, coming to Berwick; and the Earl of Crawford went on board to ſee his Grace.

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Great

Great diligence was uſed to diſcover and ſeize rebels, and to prevent their eſcaping out of the kingdom. To help to diſcover them, the clergy were deſired to give in liſts of all thoſe in their reſpective pariſhes that had, or that had not been in the rebellion. 'Tis ſaid, that a few complied: but others of them had declined it; among whom, as we are informed, were the Miniſters of Edinburgh, notwithſtadning the arguments uſed by Sir Everard Fawkener, to perſuade them to comply. And to prevent any rebels eſcaping out of the kingdom, rewards were offered for apprehending ſuch of them as ſhould land or attempt to land in Ireland, care was taken by the Britiſh miniſters at foreign courts in alliance with his Majeſty, to have any of hem apprehended that ſhould land in their territories; and the Juſtices of Peace of Kirkcudbright wrote to Patrick Lindeſay, Eſq; Governor of the iſle Man, adviſing him to be on his guard leſt any of them ſhould eſcape thither. This Gentleman publiſhed three orders, dated September 23. November 11. and May 14. (this laſt, in conſequence of the intimation from Kirkcudbright, and the ſecond, in purſuance of an order from the Duke of Athol, Lord of Man and the iſles, dated at Edinburgh September 14th, requiring the militia to reſiſt the rebels, if a body of them ſhould attempt to land in the iſland by force, and that all ſtrangers ſhould be ſtrictly examined.——Stirling of Craigbarnet, and Keir's ſon were retaken in this iſle.

About the beginning of June, one Catanach, ſervant to Mr. Ogilvy of Kenny, in Angus, who had been in the rebellion with his maſter, was apprehended by ſome of St. George's dragoons, and in a ſhort time after ſet at liberty. Being afterwards obſerved to go and come once or twice between the place of his former reſidence, and Lieutenant Colonel Arabin's quarters, he was ſuſpected of having become an informer; and was barbarouſly murdered on the 11th. Francis Anderſon and Andrew Fithie in Kenny, and Barbara Couts, ſervant to Mr. Ogilvy, ſuſpected of being the murderers, were apprehended, brought to Edinburgh priſon, and indicted.

Several

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Several rebels, or ſuſpected perſons, were made priſoners; particularly Lord Lovat, Sir James Stewart of Burray, Macniel of Bara, Secretary Murray, Laurence Mercer ſon to Sir Laurence Mercer of Aldie, deceas'd, *&c.* The three firſt were never actually engaged in the rebellion, Lady Ogilvy, taken at Culloden, was brought to Edinburgh by a party of ſoldiers, and committed to the caſtle on the 15th of June.

The following particulars were related concerning Secretary Murray. Upon information, (from a herd of Kilbucco's), that Mr. Murray had dined at Kilbucco on Friday June 27th and had that night gone to the houſe of Mr. Hunter of Polmood, who married Mr. Murray's ſiſter, John Smith, Serjeant in St George's dragoons, and ſeven private men, then under his command at Broughton, Mr. Murry's ſeat, was ordered thither with a guide, and at three o'clock on Saturday morning he ſeized Mr. Murray at Polmood. He was carried to Edinburgh by the ſame party, and committed cloſe priſoner to the caſtle about twelve o'clock on Saturday night by order of the Lord Juſtice-Clerk. Mr. Murray, upon his examination, declared, that the Pretender's ſon, with Sullivan and O Neil, both Iriſh, and no other perſon in company, did, about four days after the battle of Culloden, go off from Moidart in an open boat, in order to get on board a ſhip; but that he himſelf being at that time indiſpoſed, was not able to go with them; that he had been moſtly with Lochiel and his uncle Major Kennedy, and his brother, in a ſtarving way, lying on the ſide of hills all day, and travelling or wandering all the night, with ſcouts at a mile or a half a mile's diſtance, never daring to ſtay two nights in one place; that Locheil was very ill wounded in the heel, and obliged to uſe a horſe; that he himſelf, unable to bear fatigue and want any longer, croſſed the hill, without a ſervant, and came by Monteith to the place where he was taken.

Lord Lovat was apprehended by a detachment of the garriſon of Fort William, command by Captain Millar, which the Duke ſent on board the Furnace and Terror ſloops,

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sloops, to make descents on the coasts of Knoidart and Arisaig. In one of those descents they got intelligence of his Lordship, and after three days search, had the good fortune to find him in a hollow tree. He was brought in to the camp at Fort Augustus on Sunday the 15th of June, on a horse-litter, and about 50 more prisoners; among whom was Hugh Fraser his Secretary, his cook, a young girl, and four Lancashire men. The following has been published as a letter from his Lordship to the Duke, dated at Fort William, June 12.

SIR,

THIS letter is most humbly addressed to your Royal Highness by the very unfortunate Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat.

I durst not presume to solicit or petition your Royal Highness for any favour, if it was not well known to the best people in this country attached to the government, such as the Lord President, *&c.* and by those that frequented the court at that time, that I did more essential service to your Royal family, in suppressing the great rebellion in the year 1715, with the hazard of my life, and the loss of my only brother, than any of my rank in Scotland: for which I had three letters of thanks from my Royal master, by the hands of the Earl of Stranhope, then Secretary of State; in which his Majesty strongly promised to give me such marks of his favour, as would oblidge all the country to be faithful to him. Therefore the gracious King was as good as his word to me; for as soon as I arrived at court, and was introduced to the King by the late Duke of Argyll, I came by degrees to be as great a favourite as any Scotsman about the court: and I often carried your Royal Highness in my arms, in the parks of Kensington and Hampton-court, to hold you up to your Royal grandfather, that he might embrace you; for he was very fond of you and of the young Princesses. Now, Sir, all that I have to say in my present circumstance is, that your Royal Highness will be pleased to extend your goodness towards me, in a generous and compassionate manner, in my present deplorable situation;

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situation; and if I have the honour to kiss your Royal Highness's hand, I will easily demonstrate to you, that I can do more service to the King and government, than the destroying a hundred such like old and very infirm men like me, past seventy, without the least use of my hands, legs, and knees, can be of advantage in any shape to the government.

Your Royal father, our present sovereign, was very kind to me in the Year, 1715. I presented, on my knees, to his Majesty, a petition in favour of the Laird of Macintosh, to obtain a protection for him; which he most graciously granted me; and he gave it to Charles Cathcart, then Groom of the Bed-chamber, and ordered him to deliver it into my hands, that I might give it to the Laird of Macintosh. This was but one testimony of several marks of goodness his Majesty was pleased to bestow on me, while the King was at Hanover; and I hope I shall feel the same compassionate blood runs in your Royal Highness's veins.

Major-General Campbell told me, that he had the honour to acquaint your Royal Highness, that he was sending me to Fort William, and that he begged of your Royal Highness to order a litter to be made for me, to carry me towards Fort Augustus, as I am in such a condition that I am not able to stand, walk, or ride. I am, with the utmost submission and most profound respect.

SIR,

Your Royal Highness's most obedient and most faithful humble servant,

LOVAT.

A letter was said to be writ by the Pretender's son to his father, a short while after the retreat of the rebels from Stirling, giving a detail of what had happened in Scotland about that time. An extract of this letter, inserted in the Utrecht Gazette, said, "That the arrival of the Hessian troops in Scotland, and the coming up of the reinforcements sent to the Duke of Cumberland, were

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were the principal reaſons which made him determine to give over the ſiege: That the difficulty his troops had to ſubſiſt, in the ſituation in which they were then, had alſo made him reſolve to march Northward: That he had divided his troops in three columns; one of which marched under his command thro' Athol and Badenoch, towards the ſhire of Murray; whilſt the other two directed their courſe thro' the ſhires of Perth, Angus, Mearns and Mar; with deſign that all the three ſhould meet upon the rivers Spey and Findhorn, in order to poſſeſs themſelves of the important poſt of Inverneſs: That he had taken all poſſible care to conceal the deſign of his march from the Engliſh troops, ſo that they were perſuaded that his army made this motion with no other view but to diſperſe: That by moving Northwards he had an other advantage in view; which was, that of facilitating his being joined by the ſuccours he expected from the Weſtern coaſt of Scotland, as well as from the iſlands of Mull and Sky: That as Sir Alexander Macdonald, whoſe ſeat was in the laſt of theſe two iſlands, remained inflexible to all his ſolicitations, he had required nothing more of him, than that he would continue neutral: That he had offered the ſame expedient to other landholders who had refuſed to act in his favour: That he had received the like aſſurances from ſeveral of the clans upon the coaſt of Aſſint and Caithneſs; That the Lord Lovat and his ſon continued firmly attached to him, and that they neglected nothing that could contribute to the advancement of his cauſe: That his principal attention, ſince his being in Scotland, has been, to preſerve union and concord among the chiefs of his army: and that he flattered himſelf with having ſucceeded therein, ſince no one of them had as yet forſaken him: That they had given him a new demonſtration of their attachment, when his army left Perth, in ſigning an aſſaciation, by which they engaged, in the ſtrongeſt manner, never to abandon his intereſt: That, moreover, whatever might be the ſucceſs of his enterprize, he was reſolved to die ſword-in-hand, rather than deſiſt from what he had undertaken; That the ſuccours of arms, money,

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and ammunition sent to him from France and Spain, continued to arrive: That some of them had indeed had the misfortune to be taken by the English; but that loss, he hoped, would soon be repaired by the arrival of those he still expected."

An order was read in the church of Perth on Sunday the 29th of February, in several churches round, about the same time, and published a day or two before in the town by tuck of drum, in substance as follows, *viz.* '*By order of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.* Any person within this parish that shall conceal any rebels, or arms, ammunition, or any thing else belonging to the rebels, and shall not bring in the said rebel, stores, or goods, to Provost James Crie of Perth, shall, upon proof of disobedience of this order, be hanged.'

Two accounts are published of the manner of apprehending the Earl of Cromarty. One, intitled, *Extract of a Letter from Dunrobin, the seat of the Earl of Sutherland*, is thus. "On Tuesday the 15th of April, the three companies of the Earl of Sutherland's militia, (in all about 185 private men), commanded by William Sutherland younger of Sibberscross, Esq; Messr. Robert Gray and Robert Macalaster, factors to the Earl, marched to the back of a hill North west of Dunrobin, and finding the rebels, to the number of 500, were on their march, sent an Ensign with 20 men to harrass their rear. In the mean time the above named Gentlemen with the main body attacked them in the flank, and soon routed them, drove them to the little ferry, killed and drowned about 100; and took the Earl of Cromarty, Lord Macleod his son, Lieutenant-Colonel Kendal of the Spanish service, 9 more officers, and 160 private men prisoners. The rest were dispersed, and were dying of their wounds, in Sutherland and Ross counties. We had none killed, and not above 6 wounded. And had Lord Rea's men (who at the time of the action were two days march distant from them) come and joined them, as they had been frequently importuned so to do, Barisdale's regiment would have shared the same fate with

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Lord Cromarty's.—The activity and bravery of William Sutherland of Sibberscros at this action cannot enough be commended.—Signed, WILLIAM SUTHERLAND. ROBERT MACALASTER."

The other account, intitled, *A short account of the defeat of the rebels in Sutherland*, &c. and said to be a true copy of what Ensign Mackay attested, and delivered to Lord Sutherland, is as follows. "Ensign John Mackay, of the Earl of Sutherland's militia, having kept a private intelligence with some person in his Lordship's house of Dunrobin, it happened, on the 15th of April, that the said Mr. Mackay, having got the proper signal from the top of the tower of that house, run with 26 men to the water of Golspy; and as the body of the rebels consisting of near 400, had marched some distance before Lord Cromarty, Mr. Mackay with 26 men got between the officers and the main body, and, by firing briskly on them, first drove back the officers to Dunrobin where they secured the gates, and by ringing the bell on the tower-head, sounding a trumpet, and displaying a white flag, gave the alarm to their men to return to their relief. In the mean time, Mr. Mackay had dispatched five men to call Lord Sutherland's militia, from the different corners where they were stationed, to come to his assistance; at the same time placed the remainder in three divisions, so as to divert the enemy till the rest should join him, and, by firing briskly on them in their return to Dunrobin, obliged some to take a boat for their safety: the rest perceiving the militia coming down from the hills, in such numbers, they despaired of success, and so made the best of their way to the little ferry, but Lord Sutherland's men pursued them so close, that, by water and firing, they killed about 50, and took 165 prisoners. On which they returned to Dunrobin. Mr. Mackay asked leave to speak to Lord Cromarty; which being granted, he told him plainly, that, if he did not surrender the house, the numbers that were without would blow it up, and run all hazards of their master's displeasure. On which Lord Cromarty asked half an hour to think of it. In the mean time, Mr. Mackay went

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went down ſtairs, and told the guard that was in the houſe, it was needleſs to keep their arms any longer, as their officer had ſurrendered. On which they delivered them to Mr. Mackay; who ſecured them in the porter's lodge: then, having got poſſeſſion of the key of the gate, called in Lord Sutherland's men, went up ſtairs, and told Lord Cromarty, that there was no more time for delaying; ſo diſarmed and took them priſoners; and ſent a letter to Captain Dove of the Hound man of war, who received them all priſoners, and brought them to Inverneſs where the camp was."

The following ſpeech was ſaid to have been made by the Duke to the army immediately before the battle of Culloden. '*Gentlemen and fellow-ſoldiers*, I have but little time to addreſs myſelf to you, but I think proper to acquaint you, that you are inſtantly to engage in defence of your King and country, your religion, your liberties and properties; and, through the juſtice of our cauſe, I make no doubt of leading you on to certain victory. Stand but firm, and your enemies will ſoon fly before you. But if their be any amongſt you, who, through timidity, are diffident of their courage and behaviour, which I have not the leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect; or any others, who, through conſcience or inclination, cannot be zealous or alert in performing their duty; it is my deſire that all ſuch would immediately retire: and I further declare, they ſhall have my free pardon for ſo doing for I would rather be at the head of one thouſand brave and reſolute men, than ten thouſand, amongſt whom there are ſome, who, by cowardice or miſbehaviour, may diſpirit or diſorder the troops, and ſo bring diſhonour or diſgrace on any army under my command.'

It was aſſured in a private letter, that there was not a man, horſeman, foot, even the people employed in attending and driving the train horſes, or any one whatever of the whole army, that did not behave in the time of action, at their reſpective ſtations, with the utmoſt bravery and intrepidity; and that when the action was over, the Duke rode through the army, and thanked

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the officers and soldiers, in his Majesty's name, for their firm and vigorous behaviour; which was answered by a general shout, and *Flanders! Flanders! we'll follow your Royal Highness against any enemy.*

As a testimony of the King's satisfaction with the behaviour of the troops, an order was published, in these words. '*Head quarters Inverness, April* 30. 1746. The Duke having received a letter from his Majesty, wrote with his own hand, in which he orders his Royal Highness to acquaint the officers and soldiers of this army, That their courage and behaviour at the last battle had given thorough satisfaction, and that they may depend upon the continuance of his Royal favour, countenance, and protection, upon all occasions; the commanding officers are therefore directed to signify this his Majesty's pleasure to all the officers and men of their respective corps."

The troops continued their diligence in searching for rebels through the hills and isles, and in distressing their estates. In this service, the highlanders under the command of Major General Campbell and the Earl of Loudon, were much employed. The Major General, said to have sailed for the remotest isles, was returned from Bara to South-Uist before the middle of July, after having scoured the Western isles; and according to accounts received at Edinburgh towards the end of the month, all the principal Gentlemen of the clan Cameron, some of the Appin Stewarts, and all the Macdonalds, followers of Clanronald, Glengary, Keppoch, Kinlochmoidart and Glenco, were made prisoners by the indefatigable care of his Excellency, and the other officers, in their search through their respective countries. Hugh Fraser, Chief Secretary to Lord Lovat, was brought in prisoner to Fort Augustus on the 2d of July, by a party of Kingston's horse which had been sent in search of him. This Gentleman was formerly said to have been brought in with his Lord.

A letter from Fort Augustus, of June 29. bore, That upon an information that some of the rebel chiefs were in a wood near Garvamore, a party was sent in quest of them;

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them; that the rebels had notice of their approach, but just in time to make off; that as the soldiers had a river to cross, they could not come up with them, but however fired on them, and wounded one man; that the soldiers burnt the rebels hut, which was a curiosity, being of wicker-work, and consisting of eleven different apartments, with a fire-place in each; and they found in it, a limon cut through, on a table, some bottles of different kinds of liquors, a fowling-piece, and a few other trifles.

Lord Loudon's men were kept moving pretty much in Strathspey, Badenoch, and Lochaber, An advertisement, signed by his Lordship, and dated at Ruthven, July 1. had been published in the Edinburgh news-papers, in these terms, *viz.* "Whereas great part of the King's arms belonging to the regiment commanded by the Right Honourable the Earl of Loudon, were taken by the rebels in Sutherland, and by them distributed to people of different parts of the country; who, notwithstanding the many orders published by his Royal Highness the Duke, still detain them in their possession: These are to advise such as do not deliver them in to the storehouse at Inverness, or to the commanding officer of any part of his Majesty's forces who happens to be in their neighbourhood, by the first day of August, that the possessors where-ever they are found whether civil or military, and of what rank soever, shall be prosecuted with the utmost rigour as the law in that case directs."

And, some time in July, an advertisement was published at the churches in the city and county of Aberdeen, in substance as follows. "*By the Earl of Anerum Aid de Camp to his Majesty, and commanding the forces on the Eastern coast of North-Britain,* Whereas arms have been found in several houses, contrary to his Royal Highness the Duke's proclamation, this is therefore to give notice, That whatever arms of any kind are found, that the house, and all houses belonging to the proprietor or his tenants, shall be immediately burnt to ashes; and that as some arms have been found

under ground, that if any ſhall be diſcovered for the future, the adjacent houſes and fields ſhall be immediately laid waſte and deſtroyed."

Great care was taken in guarding the coaſts, and imbargoes had been ſometimes laid on the ſhipping. Accounts were received by the Elizabeth of Glaſgow, Orr, who arrived at Greenock on the 10th of July, and left Morlaix on the 1ſt, that while ſhe was at the laſt named port, an Iriſh wherry arrived there, with about thirty rebel-officers on board, and an highland pilot; that the populace, on ſeeing them, cried, *Vive le Roy*, imagining the Pretender's ſon to have been among them; and that the paſſengers, as ſoon as they got on ſhore, ſung, *And a begging we muſt go*. And Captain Lorimer, of the Glaſgow Packet, who arrived at Newcaſtle in the end of July from Bergen in Norway, whence he ſailed on the 21ſt, gave an account, that a few days before he came off, the thirteen rebels before mentioned, of whom Lady Ogilvy is one made their eſcape from the caſtle of Bergen, and went off in a ſmall Daniſh veſſel for Sweden; and that thereupon Alexander Wallace, Eſq; the Britiſh Conſul, entered a proteſt againſt the Governor. Captain Lorimer adds, that about the ſame time, or a little after, a French cutter from Lochbroom arrived at Bergen, with about thirty rebels on board; of whom ſome were in the highland dreſs, and others in that of the Pretender's ſon's life-guards; that the young Pretender and Lochiel were reported to be among them; that the Britiſh Conſul applied to the Governor to have the veſſel ſearched, and the paſſengers ſecured, but was refuſed; and that the Conſul took a Proteſt on this likewiſe.———Captain Wemyſs, who carried over the firſt thirteen, returned to Scotland before the middle of July. Several letters from the rebels to their friends were brought over in his veſſel, but were intercepted; and the Captain and crew were committed to jail.

Nothing remarkable could now be expected from the army, as there was not a body of the rebels any where together. About the beginning of July, a party of Hamilton's

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milton's dragoons fell upon a party of rebels that had come down to the braes of Angus for provisions, routed them, killed a few, and carried seven prisoners into Dundee, among whom was Patrick Lindsay, a rebel Captain. And on the 15th, seven rebels were surprised in a hut in the braes of Lenny, by the Perth voluntiers, under the command of Captain James Campbell and Ensign Daniel Maceuen. The voluntiers having surrounded the hut, were fired at from the door and two windows; which they returned. When the firing had continued briskly about fifteen minutes, the rebels, being all wounded except one, surrendered, and were carried in prisoners to Stirling, *viz.* Major Stewart, brother to Ardvorlich, Captain Malcom Magregor of Comour, Captain Donald Maclaren, Serjeant King, alias Macree, late of Lord John Muray's regiment, and three private men. The voluntiers received no hurt. Lieutenant Fawlie, or Follie, who was broke at Montrose, and who served as a private man in the corps, was one of them, and very active. All the Rannoch men were said to have submitted to Captain Webster, at Castle Menzies.

The main body of the army was still at Fort Augustus; but parties were constantly in motion to scour the country. The utmost diligence was used for seizing the Pretender's son: concerning whom there had been numberless reports; of which the following is the exactest, and seems most probable. On the 28th of June, he sailed in a small boat from South-Uist to the isle of Sky, under the disguise of a young Lady's maid. Next day they landed at a Gentleman's house, having got a signal from a trusty friend on shore about half an hour before. Here the Lady dined, with several others; but, tho' pressed to it, would not stay all night. After the Lady and her pretended maid were gone hence, the Pretender's son resumed the habit of his sex, and was carried by John Macinnon, a boatman, first to Raza, and then back to Sky, and at last to the continent. On the 9th of July, Macinnon was taken in his boat on his return, by a party of General

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neral Campbell's men, and carried directly to the place where he had landed the Pretender's ſon, having been ordered on pain of death to diſcover what he knew of him. Notice of this was ſent to Fort Auguſtus, and thereupon 1500 men were immediately ſent out to ſcour the coaſt. Macinnon ſaid, that from eight o'clock of an evening till eight o'clock next morning, the Pretender's ſon walked twenty four miles with him; and that he carried a wallet on his back, containing two ſhirts, and a bottle of brandy, which he would not allow Macinnon to carry for him. On coming to the main land, it was ſaid the Pretender's ſon was joined by Bariſdale, notwithſtanding his having ſubmitted to the Duke and received his Royal Highneſs's protection. Barriſdale and old Glengary were ſaid to be priſoners at Fort Auguſtus. Tho' all the paſſes were very ſtrictly guarded, the Pretender's ſon got over the hill of Morar, in Lochaber, on the 16th of July; where he was received by Lochgary; with 80 men in arms, who conducted him into Badenoch. On notice of this, orders were given for preſerving a ſtrict imbargo on all the coaſt for ſeizing and ſecuring every where all ſuſpected perſons. A letter from Lochaber dated July 20. ſaid that, 2000 regular troops were then out, beſides General Campbell's and Loudon's irregulars, in queſt of the Pretender's ſon; and that there was beſides, a chain of centries, or ſmall guards, from Inverneſs to Fort Auguſtus, and from Fort William to Inverary, within a ſmall diſtance of each other, and ſtronger guards at important paſſes; ſo that it was thought almoſt impoſſible he could eſcape. He was at that time reported to be wandering about in Morar, in an old highland habit, and in a bad ſtate of health, being broke out to ſuch a degree, that he was like a leper. And it was aſſured from Ariſaig, of the 23d, that he ſtill continued there, and was incloſed on all ſides; and it was believed that Lochiel and ſome of the highland chiefs were likewiſe within the lines.

Captain Millar, who was in queſt of the young Chevalier in South-Uiſt, wrote, that he eſcaped thence in

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Lady Canlronald's cloaths. General Campbell, who was likewiſe in South-Uiſt, after ordering a chiftain's Lady, who had not only protected the young Chevalier, but contrived his eſcape, to be taken up, ſet out directly for Sky, having previouſly diſpatched Captain Ferguſon in a cutter. They both landed, much about a time, below the Gentleman's houſe in which the young Lady and her pretended maid had dined, went directly to it, and aſked the Lady of the houſe about her two gueſts. But as ſhe had not been let into the ſecret, ſhe could give them no intelligence. His Excellency was at Applecroſs bay on the 23d of July, and his ſon, the Lieutenant-Colonel, at Lochanhuach.

A French cutter, of 6 guns and 30 men, hovered about thirty days on the coaſt, in hopes of carrying off the Pretender's ſon. Sullivan and O Neil went on board her at North Uiſt, and then ſhe ſailed for Sky; where O Neil went aſhore, and was taken. It was thought this was the veſſel that carried over the 30 rebels to Bergen.

In hunting the young Pretender's ſon, as above; beſides O Neil, the old Laird of Macinnon, and three prieſts, one of them Lochiel's brother, were taken by Captain Macneil, of the Argyleſhire militia; as was the Lieutenant Colonel of Clanronald's regiment, and his ſervants found in a cave, by a party of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell's men; and Captain Ronald Macdonald, Kinlochmoidart's brother, by Captain Noble, Alexander Macdonald of Kingſburgh, Sir Alexander Macdonald's factor, was carried to Fort Auguſtus, and laid in irons, for having concealed the Pretender's ſon three days in his houſe, and aided his eſcape. This Gentleman was afterwards carried South by a party of Kingſton's horſe, and committed to the caſtle of Edinburgh on the 2d of Auguſt. A good deal of ammunition, arms, ſaddles, boots, *&c.* were found among the rocks, and ſome Engliſh horſes roaming in the woods. All the cattle belonging to the outſtanding rebels, were carried into the camp.

Commodore Smith was joined on the 22d of July, at Tobermory, by three ſhips of war from the Northland.

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The Glaſgow man of war had taken a brigantine on the Weſtern coaſt, with thirteen officers on board, who had ſince the beginning of June been endeavouring to carry off the Pretender's ſon. According to other accounts, there were twenty two officers in this veſſel, all dreſſed in rich laced cloaths; of whom ſeventeen were found on board, and the other five made their eſcape. A fellow was apprehended retailing ſpirituous liquors in the camp at Fort Auguſtus, and hanged as a ſpy, ſuppoſed to have been ſent by them to get intelligence of the young Chevalier.

On the 18th of July, the Duke ſet out from Fort Auguſtus on his return for London, was at Stirling on the 20th, lay in the Royal palace of Holyroodhouſe at Edinburgh on the 21ſt, reached Newcaſtle on the 22d, York on the 23d, and arrived at St. James's on the 25th, about two o'clock afternoon. The moſt ſincere teſtimonies of eſteem and gratitude were every where ſhewn his Royal Highneſs; tho', at his own deſire, publick rejoicings were often forbid. At York he was very highly complimented in two elegant ſpeeches; one made by the Archbiſhop, at the head of the clergy; and the other by Mr. Recorder, when the Lord Mayor and Aldermen preſented his Royal Highneſs with the freedom of the city, which was put up in a gold box. The magiſtrates of Glaſgow, and of other cities, waited likewiſe upon him with their reſpective freedoms; and as the citizens of Edinburgh, being deſtitute of magiſtrates, could not do themſelves this honour in all its formalities, the freedoms of the ſeveral trades were preſented him in a gold box. This brave prince accepted of theſe compliments with a politneſs and condeſcention becoming his high birth and character.—The Duke was attended by the Marquis of Granby, Lord Cathcart, Colonel Yorke, &c. and eſcorted by a detachment of Kingſton's horſe and a few huſſars. Sir Everard Fawkener came alſo along from Fort Auguſtus; but this Gentleman, having ſome affairs of importance to ſettle at Edinburgh, did not ſet out thence for London till the 2d of Auguſt. Lieutenant

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tenant-General Hawley arrived at Edinburgh on the 23d of July, and proceeded for London on the 25th.

When the Duke left the army, the Earl of Albemarle, Lieutenant-General, was appointed commander in chief in Scotland. The diſpoſition of quarters for the troops, and the diſtricts aſſigned the general officers, were as follows. Houghton's battalion, at Fort William, *&c;* Loudon's, and independent companies, at Fort Auguſtus; Blakeney's and Batereaus, at Inverneſs; Mordaunt's, at Nairn; *&c;* and Handaſyd's, at Elgin, *&c.* theſe under the command of Major-General Blakeney, whoſe diſtrict was from Fort William, on the Chain, by Inverneſs, along the coaſt, to Spey mouth: Dejean's, at Cullen, *&c.;* and Fleming's at Aberdeen; theſe under Major-General Skelton, whoſe diſtrict was from Spey mouth along the coaſt to Dundee: the Royal, Skelton's, Sackville's, and the artillery, at Perth, *&c.* under Major-General Huſke and Brigadier Mordaunt: and Barrel's, Price's, and Conway's, at Stirling; Campbell's (Scots fuſileers), at Glaſgow; and Lee's at Cannongate, *&c.* theſe under Major-General Bland and Brigadier Lord Sempill. Wolfe's, Pultney's and Sempill's were ordered for Flanders; Howard's (Old Buffs), for Carliſle; and Cholmondeley's, for Newcaſtle. Kingſton's horſe were likewiſe ordered South; and the five regiments of dragoons, *viz.* St. George's, Cobham's, Mark Kerr's, Naizon's, and Hamilton's, were at graſs.

Accordingly, Wolfe's, Pultney's, and Sempill's battalions, ordered for Flanders, marched for Burntiſland towards the end of July, and were imbarked on board the tranſports; which had returned to Leith road about the beginning of the month, after having carried over the Heſſians.

About the end of the month, a great many priſoners were ordered for Carliſle; among whom was Sir Archibald Primeroſe of Dunipace, who was carried into Aberdeen two or three weeks before.——Lord Lovat arrived at Edinburgh on the 20th, guarded by a party of Mark Kerr's dragoons, and proceeded for London on the 22d. As his Lordſhip could not ſtand or walk, his guard had him to lift out of and into a coach.—The

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Earl

Earl of Kellie ſurrendered himſelf to the Lord Juſtice-Clerk at Edinburgh, on the 11th of July, and was committed to the caſtle; ſo that the attainder did not take place with reſpect to his Lordſhip.

On the 7th of July, Secretary Murray was carried from Edinburgh for London; where he arrived on the 19th, and was committed to the tower. On the 24th, at night, the Lord Chancellor, and the two Secretaries of State, the Duke of Newcaſtle, and the Earl of Harrington, went to the tower, and ſtaid till early next morning; during which time Mr. Murray was under examination, and it was expected great diſcoveries would be made. Accordingly, on the 26th, Barry a phyſician was taken into cuſtody, and all his papers ſeized; near twenty meſſengers were ſent to divers parts of the country; and Sir John Douglaſs of Kilhead, member for Dumfrieſſhire, was taken up at Edinburgh on the 28th at night, and carried off for London on the 31ſt, by a meſſenger and a guard.

Within a week or two of the end of the ſeſſion, ſeveral complaints were preſented to the Lords againſt officers of the army.—The firſt that we heard of, was in name of the factor upon the ſequeſtered eſtate of Stranhope. It repreſented, That, on the 5th of July, five or ſix of St. George's dragoons came to the farm of Harrow, and drove off from thence, to Broughton, where they were quartered, the whole cattle, horſes, &c. belonging to James Sinclair, tackſman of that farm; that the dragoons, having returned to Harrow, took poſſeſſion of the houſe, barns, corns upon hand, labouring-utenſils, &c; that for ſome days they had been diſpoſing, at very low prices, of ſuch of the aforeſaid particulars as they could find merchants for; and that it was feared the growing corn, when ripe, would in like manner be intromitted with; all in prejudice of the creditors hypotheck. This petition was moved on the 16th; as the perſons complained upon were not named, the Lords ſuperſeded adviſing it for ſome days. Another petition was therefore given in on the 25th, repreſenting, That the factor having learned, that the dragoons were commanded

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manded by Quartermaſter Cooke, did repair to Broughton, and aſked Mr. Cooke, by what authority the dragoons had acted as above, and required him to order the goods to be reſtored; and that Mr. Cooke anſwered, That as it was well known James Sinclair was in the rebellion, the dragoons had ſeized his effects in conſequence of the Duke's general orders, publiſhed in the news papers; that he had cauſed carry back the cattle, and had placed a guard over them; but had offered to Mrs. Sinclair to remove the guard provided ſhe would give her ſecurity that the effects ſhould be forth coming to any perſon having proper authority, when demanded; and that he could not be anſwerable to remove his guard in any other ſhape.

Another complaint was moved on the 24th, in name of Thomas Ogilvy of Coul, merchant in Dundee. It repreſents, that the complainer happening to be at Alloa in November laſt, looking after certain parcels of tobacco which had been ſeized by the rebels, he was apprehended by the King's troops, and had been ever ſince in confinement; that, in June laſt, Captain Charles Hamilton, of Cobham's dragoons, did, with the aſſiſtance of a party of ſaid dragoons, turn out of the parks of Coul, the whole cattle belonging to John Ker and Alexander Guthrie, the complainer's tenants, put in dragoon-horſes to graſe in ſaid parks, and, when theſe were ſent South, rouped the current ſeaſon's graſs, for which he received 15 l. Sterling in ready money; that ſaid Captain Hamilton thereafter took poſſeſſion of the manſion-houſe of Coul, office-houſes, yards, and lands adjacent, poſſeſſed by David Ogilvy, another of the complainer's tenants, rouped his whole houſhold-furniture, cattle, horſes, and other moveables found about the houſe, and publiſhed an order, intimating, that in the beginning of Auguſt he was to roup ſaid David Ogilvy's whole growing corns; that Ker and Guthrie had remained peaceably at home during the whole time of the rebellion, and were never under the leaſt ſuſpicion of acceſſion to it; that tho' David Ogilvy's conduct might have been ſuſpicious, yet his property could not become forefeited till

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he was convicted, nor in any event could the complainer lose his hypotheck; and that, if a timely check was not given to these proceedings, this Gentleman, or some other vested with the like authority, might probably take possession of the rest of the complainer's estate, turn out his tenants, and raise a sum of money by exposing the lands to roup.

A third complaint was moved on the 29th, in name of John Watson of Turin, near Forfar. It represented, That, on the 3d of July, the complainer was apprehended, and committed prisoner, by Captain Charles Hamilton, of Cobham's dragoons, upon an information by David Scot taylor, and his wife, importing, that the complainer had threatened to turn Scot out of a small possession, if he would not inlist with the rebels; that, upon the complainers application to have this matter inquired into, a precognition was taken by the Justices of Peace of the bounds; by which it appeared, that Scot and his wife were of infamous characters, that the complainer had set their possession to another before there was the least surmise of the rebellion, and that he had all along lived as a peaceable and dutiful subject; that said Captain Hamilton however, having previously caused inventary the whole effects of the complainer's house of Turin, and stocking of the farm, did, on the 24th of July, send a Serjeant and two dragoons to Turin, and caused intimate to the Lady, that she behoved to pay to Captain Hamilton 60 guineas, otherwise her husband's whole effects would be carried to Forfar, and rouped, indulging her till the 26 to make her election; and that, on said 26th, Captain Hamilton went in person to Turin, and renewed the demand of the 60 guineas, under the aforesaid certification; but was prevailed on to give a further indulgence till the 29th, upon the Lady's promising then to grant bill for the sum, payable in four weeks.

A fourth complaint was likewise moved on the 29th, in name of the liferentrix of Woodhill, near Dundee. It represented, That on the 20th of May, James Greig, sole tenant in the liferentlands, was apprehended by a party

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party of St. George's dragoons, and committed to Aberbrothock prison, on suspicion of having been concerned in the rebellion; that, on the 29th of May, Lieutenant Faustin Low, of St. George's dragoons, came with a party of dragoons to Woodhill, carried off the whole stocking of the farm, *viz.* horses, cattle, and sheep, to Westhaven, a little town in the neighbourhood, where they were all rouped by the Lieutenant's order; who, in like manner seized 23¼ bolls oats, and five cart-loads unthreshed oats; that the complainer's factor having represented to the Lieutenant, that, by the law of this country, she had a preferable right upon the tenant's effects to the extent of the current year's rent, he answered, that *if she were the best Lady in the land he would take it all;* that the factor having been directed to take a protest, refused, alledging that one or two of his neighbours had been thrown into prison for protesting in the like cases; and that the Lieutenant had threatened likewise to take the growing crop, of which it was probable he had intimated a roup upon the ground.

A fifth complaint was moved on the 31st, in name of arresters of a rebel's effects. It represented, That the complainers did, upon a depending action, arrest some books belonging to John Murray of Broughton, in the hands of Mr. William Wallace Minister of Drummelzier, and executed a forthcoming; that Captain Whitency Mackean, of St. George's dragoons, required Mr. Wallace to send to Broughton such books as he had in his possession; that Mr. Wallace having represented, that as the books were attached by a legal diligence, he could not warrantably send them, the Captain answered, that, if they were not sent voluntarily, he would order a party to fetch them, and could not answer for the consequences, and thereupon Mr. Wallace thought it prudent to send the books to Broughton; that the books having been afterwards sent in to Edinburgh, the complainers arrested them a second time, in the hands of John Mackmillan innkeeper, in whose house they were lodged; that after this arrestment the books were carried off by a party of dragoons on notice of which, the petitioners

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protested

proteſted againſt Captain Mackean, for damages; that on this the Captain ſaid, that the books had been carried off without his order, and lodged in the houſe of one Diſhington vintner in Kirkaldy, and promiſed that they ſhould not be carried thence till the complainers claim was determined in a legal way; and that though the complainers hoped they might ſafely rely on Captain Mackean's promiſe, yet it was judged proper to have the authority of the Lords interpoſed, in order to prevent further difficulties.

The prayer of the ſeveral complaints was much to one and the ſame purpoſe; craving, that the perſons complained upon might be ordained to be ſerved with, and anſwer the complaints reſpectivly; and that, in the mean time, interdicts ſhould be pronounced, diſcharging any further procedure, other than in a legal method.

In obedience to the order of court, anſwers were given in for Quartermaſter Nathaniel Cooke on the 28th, the third day after he had been ſerved with a copy of the complaint, and he appeared in perſon next day, when the cauſe was adviſed. His anſwers were introduced thus: That whatever ſuſpicions ſome people might at preſent incline to entertain of thoſe of the reſpondent's employment, he had not learned the diſtinction betwixt a *Britiſh ſoldier* and a *Britiſh ſubject;* and as he knows there can be no authority for force or violence any where under the Britiſh government, he cannot help ſhewing the greateſt anxiety to free himſelf from the ſuſpicion of having had acceſſion to any thing that may be deemed a violation of the laws. Mr. Cooke's account of the fact is to this purpoſe: That James Sinclair is a notorious Papiſt and rebel, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf eminently in the Pretender's ſervice; that this conduct drew upon him the reſentment of his loyal neighbours, which they from time to time expreſſed to the ſoldiers quartered at Broughton, ſaid, it was a ſcandal that ſuch a man's family ſhould be allowed to continue in the quiet poſſeſſion of his effects; that on the 5th of July, when there was no officer in theſe quarters, a corporal and four or five private dragoons were ſo far moved by the inſtigati-

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ons of the country-people, as to go to Mr. Sinclair's farm, and drive off the ſtocking, to Broughton; that thereafter entering the houſe, only to ſearch for arms, (as was alledged), and finding two red faſhes, cut, and clotted with blood ſuppoſed to have been ſent home by Mr. Sinclair as trophies of his particular bravery in the ſlaughter of two of his Majeſty's officers at Preſton or Falkirk, the ſoldiers thereupon could not abſtain from committing ſome outrages; which however ended in no greater an affair than pilfering two old perwigs, two or three pair of ſtockings, a ſteel-hilted ſmall ſword, and other trifles, the whole not worth more than 12 or 14 s.; that at this time the reſpondent had no command of the party, having been at Dumfries, thirty or forty miles diſtant; that, on the 8th he went from Dumfries, by order from his ſuperior officer, to Broughton, and took upon him the command of them; that next day, having challenged the corporal for what had been done, he pleaded the information and advice of the neighbours, and the general orders publiſhed by the Duke for ſeizing the effects of all rebels; that as the reſpondent was ſenſible the conduct of the dragoons had been irregular, he reſolved to anticipate any application for having the goods reſtored, and deſired a Gentleman, in the neighbourhood to write of his deſign to Mrs. Sinclair, who had gone to Edinburgh; that, on her return the reſpondent went to her houſe at Harrow on the 11th, five days before the firſt complaint was given in to the Lords, and reſtored all the horſes and cattle; but as they had been once ſeized for the King's uſe, as he was diffident of his own powers to make an abſolute reſtitution, and as the goods might afterwards be carried off irregularly, by ſoldiers, by the country-people, or by thoſe concerned in Mr. Sinclair, to the prejudice of his Majeſty's forfeiture, he therefore appointed a ſingle dragoon to attend the farm, and watch over the effects, that nothing might be embezzled, or carried off without proper authority; that as to the wigs, ſtockings and other trifles, they could not be recovered ſo as to

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be reſtored at the ſame time, but the reſpondent promiſed to Mrs. Sinclair, that he would endeavour to recover them, and either reſtore, or pay the value of them; that Mrs. Sinclair acknowledged them to be ſo trifling as not worth the being inquired after, and expreſſed her gratitude in very ſtrong terms for what the reſpondent had done for her; that the reſpondent, however, upon further ſearch, recovered thoſe trifles, and ordered them to be delivered; and concludes, that in order to prevent any bad conſequences to the reſpondent's character, and future trouble to the court by groundleſs complaints of the like nature, it was not doubted but expences would be awarded. The Lords found, That Quartermaſter Cooke had not in any thing exceeded his duty, and therefore diſmiſſed the complaint as groundleſs; found the complainer liable to him in 61. Sterling of expences; and ordained the reſpondent to take off the guard, giving notice twenty four hours before, to the Sheriff or his deputes, that the goods and cattle might be properly taken care of.

Captain Hamilton was ordained to give in anſwers to Mr. Ogilvy's complaint, on the fifth day after he ſhould be ſerved with a copy of it. He was accordingly ſerved between the hours of nine and ten in the forenoon of the 25th, and the following interlocutor was pronounced. "*Edinburgh, January* 31. 1746. The Lords having again heard the within complaint, with the within execution of ſervice, againſt Captain Charles Hamilton; and that he has not given in anſwers to the ſaid complaint, as ordered by their laſt interlocutor; they find the ſaid Captain Charles Hamilton guilty of a contempt of their authority and therefore grant warrant to Macers, Meſſengers, or other officers of the law, to ſeize, apprehend, and incarcerate the perſon of the ſaid Captain Charles Hamilton, in the next ſure priſon to the place where he is apprehended, ay and until he find ſufficient caution, at the ſight of the Sheriff of the ſhire in which he is apprehended, to make anſwer to the ſaid complaint againſt the firſt of November next, and to ſatisfy and pay

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pay such damages as shall be found due to the complainer: and ordain the keepers of such prison to receive and detain him accordingly."

Answers to all the other complaints were ordained to be given in against the first of November, and interdicts were pronounced, in the mean time prohibiting any further procedure, other than in due course of law.

Towards the end of July an imbargo was laid on in a great many ports in Scotland. For this purpose, letters were sent by the Lord Justice Clerk, dated *Edinburgh, July* 27. of the tenor following. "*Sir*, I send this by express to acquaint you, that by the intelligence I have from the North, the Pretender's son has left the West highlands, and fled towards the East coast in hopes no doubt, of making his escape. Now, whether he will attempt to get away upon the North east coast, or if he will endeavour to get into England, or what other course he will take, time alone can discover; but it is our duty, and that of all faithful subjects, to guard all avenues as far as is in our power; which makes me give you this early notice, and to desire you will be pleased to take proper measures in your neighbourhood. *I am* &c, And a letter was sent by the Commissioners of the Customs to the Collecter and Comptroller at Portpatrick, dated, *Edinburgh, July* 28. in these terms. "*Gentlemen*, Intelligence being received that the Pretender's son has left the highlands, and is come towards the East coast, endeavouring to make his escape by shipping: by the special order of the Lord Justice Clerk, you are instantly to lay an imbargo on all ships and vessels throughout your precinct, and to put all the officers on their guard, with their utmost vigilance to watch all creeks, and places of imbarkation, and to stop and examine all passengers and strangers, and to seize all suspected persons; and to acquaint us from time to time with all occurrences." Accordingly, on receipt of the order at Glasgow, guards were placed at all the avenues leading to the city, and at Air, Greenock, *&c.* constables made a strict search through every house.

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The imbargo was however taken off at Glasgow on the 15th of August, and at Aberdeen and elsewhere soon after.

It was reported at Edinburgh about the 20th of August, that the Pretender's son had got back again to the isles. He had been seen, as was said, by some parties; but by means of interjacent lakes and morasses, with which the country abounds, they were never able to come up with him. Old Glengary was brought prisoner to Edinburgh on the 22d of August, and committed to the castle, said to be charged with having favoured his escape from several parties sent in quest of him. And an officer at Fort Augustus, in a letter, dated July 26. says, "That Kingston's horse were to march next day for England The regiments of foot made a chain all along the sea-coast, to prevent any of the rebels geting off, and to hinder the Pretender from getting to France, where he would give the universe to be. He has been chased this fortnight past from one island to another, sometimes dressed as a highlander, and sometimes as a woman. We hang or shoot every one that is known to conceal him, burn their houses, and take their cattle; of which we have got 8000 head within these few days past; so that if some of your Northumberland graziers were here they would make their fortune."

An affair happened at Stirling which made a little noise. It was related to have been as follows.—On the 29th of July, in the afternoon, William Pollock, wigmaker in Stirling, sent his journeyman, William Maiben, to Lieutenant Stoyt, of Howard's regiment, Old Buffs, with a wig which he desired to be made for him. The Lieutenant, being dissatisfied with the wig, expressed himself in a disdainful manner and bid him be gone with it. Maiben, in going down stairs, muttered some very provoking words, said to be to this purpose, That Lieutenant Stoyt was a troublesome scoundrel; and that if he had him out, he could kick him for his commission. The Gentleman was so inraged at this, that he went to Mr. Pollock's shop, taking a soldier with him, and struck

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ſtruck Maiben over the head, once and again, with a ſtaff, till it broke. Other officers ruſhing into the ſhop at the ſame time, one of them, whoſe name was not known, beat Maiben on the face to the effuſion of his blood. And Mr. Pollock indeavouring to reſcue his ſervant, Lieutenant Stoyt and that other officer beat him on the breaſt with their fiſts. Immediately after, they dragged Maiben to the guard by the collar. Then Lieutenant Stoyt acquainted his Lieutenant-Colonel, George Howard, of the matter; who thereupon ordered Maiben to be ſtripped, tied to halberts in the market place, and whipped. On notice of what had paſſed, the magiſtrates, particularly Bailies William Maiben, John Gilleſpie, and Patrick Stevenſon, went to Lieutenant Colonel Howard, and required him to deliver up Maiben, in order to be judged by them; declaring themſelves willing to do juſtice, and give all manner of ſatisfaction in the matter. The Lieutenant Colonel anſwered to this purpoſe, That he had ordered Maiben to be flogged, and that it ſhould be ſo; that he would anſwer for it; and that they ſhonld know that he commanded in Stirling; and he ſpoke otherwiſe indecently to the magiſtrates. Accordingly Maiben was tied to the halberts, and whipped by a drum of Howard's regiment; Leutenant Neilſon of Barrels regiment, who commanded the guard, overſeeing the execution. In a little time, the Lieutenant Colonel, by the advice, or at the interceſſion of the Major of the regiment, ordered Maiben to be looſed, and ſet at liberty; but not till his back was ſeverely cut by the ſtripes.—And information of this affair was forthwith given into the court of juſticiary, in the name of Mr, Pollock and Maiben, and of the magiſtrates of Stirling, charging Leutenant Stoyt as guilty of hameſucken againſt Mr. Pollock and Maiben, and Lieutenant-Colonel Howard and Lieutenant Neilſon, of a moſt barbarous and cruel abuſe and maltreatment of Maiben's perſon, in a moſt ignominious manner, and of a manifeſt invaſion of magiſtracy, and of the rights and liberties of the ſubject, and therefore craving a warrant for apprehending their perſons, and impriſoning them till they

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they ſhould underly the law.——The Lords paſſed an interlocutor on the 1ſt of Auguſt; by which, before anſwer to the information and petition, their Lordſhips remitted to, and appointed the Sheriffs of the ſhire of Stirling, to make inquiry into, and take a procognition anent the facts complained of, and to report the ſame. —On the 30th of July, Howard's regiment arrived at Glaſgow from Stirling, next day the officers were entertained in the publick hall by the magiſtrates, and complimented with the freedom of the city; and on the 1ſt of Auguſt they marched for Carliſle. The above affair at Stirling was however ſaid to have given general diſguſt.

The 1ſt of Auguſt was ſolemnized at Aberdeen, by the troops lying there, in commemoration of the acceſſion of the preſent Royal family to the throne, in the perſon of K. George I. It was ſaid, that a meſſage was ſent by the commanding officers to the magiſtrates, deſiring them to order the bells to be rung, and the windows to be illuminated. This anniverſary has not been in uſe to be obſerved ſince the death of the late King, nor was it uſual in Scotland to commemorate annually the acceſſion of any monarch but the reigning one. The bells were however rung in Aberdeen; but no order was given for illuminations. In the evening the officers met in a tavern, before which the ſoldiers were drawn up, and drank the Royal healths, *&c.* under diſcharges of ſmall arms. The ſoldiers having been diſmiſſed about ten o'clock at night, they went through the city, before laying aſide their arms, and broke a great many windows with ſtones, becauſe they were not illuminated. The town-houſe, in particular, ſuffered on this occaſion; mirrors and other goods to a conſiderable value were broke in a ſhop, women and children were much frightened, and it was ſaid that ſome people were hurt.

Towards the middle of Auguſt, the Lord Sempill arrived at Aberdeen, and took upon him the command of the troops ſtationed in that country, in the room of the Earl of Ancrum; who came to Edinburgh about the 16th.

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The Camp at Fort Auguſtus broke up on Wedneſday the 13th, and the body of the army marched Southwards. Their rout was, to be at Dalwhinny on the 15th, at Dalnachardich on the 16th, then to divide; and the Earl of Albemarle, to march by Blair and Dunkeld, for Perth, with one diviſion; and Major-General Huſke with the other, by Tay bridge and Crieff, for Stirling. The garriſons at Blair and Caſtle Menzies marched along, or ſoon after, and thoſe places were evacuated. Colonel Macdonald of Bariſdale, (whoſe ſon was attainted), with 50 men, ſurrendered themſelves to the Earl of Albemarle before he decamped. His Excellency and Major-General Huſke arrived at Edinburgh on the 21ſt, after having ſettled the troops in quarters at Perth, Stirling, *&c.* as mentioned.

Major-General Campbell, and his ſon the Lieutenant-Colonel, with the Argyleſhire militia, were returned to Inverary on the 17th. They brought 2 or 3000 ſtand of arms with them, which they ſeized in the rebels country. The militia were diſbanded, moſt of whom were diſpoſed to return to their labour; but the levies for ſome new independent companies were ſaid to go on ſucceſsfully. A letter from Inverary, dated Auguſt 26th ſaid, 'That the priſoners of any note taken by our militia, were ſent, ſome to England, and ſome to Fort Auguſtus. A few of them that ſubmitted, are ſtill here, waiting their fate. Theſe declare, that had others uſed their countrymen as General Campbell did, there would not be one rebel in arms in all the highlands."

Lord Loudon was ſtationed at Fort Auguſtus, with his own regiment, and ſeventeen companies of militia, compoſed of Mackays, Macleods, Monroes, Sir Alexander Macdonald's men, *&c.* Small detachments from this corps were ſtationed in Strathſpey, and at Ruthven, Dalwhinny, Dalnachardich, *&c.*

Three companys of Guiſe's regiment, and two of Johnſon's, who garriſoned Fort William when beſieged, croſſed the Forth from Kinghorn to Leith on the 18th of Auguſt,

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Auguſt, and marched for Berwick, the then ſtation of Guiſe's regiment.

About this time advice was received at Edinburgh, that the maſter of Lovat had ſurrendered himſelf to Lord Loudon, and that he was ſent to Inverneſs by the Earl of Albemarle's orders.

Some ſoldiers of Dejean's regiment, formerly Monro's, related, that, at Lochiel's houſe, they ſeized his gardener and cook, and deſired them to inform where their maſter's beſt effects were concealed; that the former being inflexible, they ſet drums to the back of the latter with rodes of diſcipline; that the cook having by this means made a diſcovery, Lochiel's beſt effects fell into the hands of the ſoldiers, but his plate eſcaped them; and that the gardener and cook were afterwards ſent to England on board a ſhip with other priſoners.

On the 31ſt of Auguſt, as Captain George Monro of Culcairn, with about 4 or 500 men under his command, compoſed of Monroes, Roſſes, Macleods, *&c.* were on a march near Locharkaig, in Lochiel's country in Lochaber, a woman having come aſking for Culcairn, he ſtepped aſide to ſpeak to her, and, in a few minutes after her departure, was ſhot dead from behind a buſh. The woman, and one Cameron, the ſuppoſed murderer, were apprehended. This Gentleman's two brothers, Sir Robert and the Doctor, were killed at Falkirk.

In the night between the 30 and 31ſt, a party of armed men, ſuppoſed to be rebels, came to the houſe of Mr. Gairden of Troup, in Buchan; and having got acceſs, they went to Mr. Gairden's bed-ſide, and required him to give them inſtantly 2000l. Sterling. As the Gentleman would not, and probably could not comply with this unreaſonable demand, they carried him off with them. After keeping him three days, they ſet him at liberty; but it was ſaid they got upwards of 130l. that he had by him; and that they kept ſome valuable effects, or papers, as a ſecurity for the payment of the ſums demanded.

Michael Vezazi, an Italian, long in the Pretender's ſervice, who was committed priſoner to Dumbarton caſtle

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caſtle with the Marquis of Tullibarden, and Æneas Macdonald banker at Paris, brother to Kinlochmoidart, were brought into Edinburgh on the 31ſt of Auguſt, and committed the former to the city jail, and the latter to the caſtle. A ſhort while after, Mr. Macdonald ſet out for London, under the care of Major Bedford, of the train, and another officer, who watched him every night by turns. The Italian was enlarged on parole on the 15th of September.

About this time ſome depredations were committed in Buchan and other places. A man came to a miniſter's houſe there, when his family were at a market, and delivered him a letter, requiring 10l. to be given him. The Miniſter ſaid he could not give it; but the man perſiſted in his demand. In a little time five or ſix more men came in, their faces diſguiſed, and repeated the demand. The Miniſter offered them what money he had in his pocket, five or ſix ſhillings. But this not ſatisfying them, they went to his cabinet, took out ſix guineas, and 41 in ſilver, and went off; threatening further miſchief if any noiſe was made about the matter. A party was ſaid to have gone likewiſe to the houſe of Mr. Bartlet of Afforſk, in the pariſh of Ghamry, and to have carried off what money they could find. Another Gentleman, in Buchan, had thirty cows carried off. It was alſo ſaid, that a party of the rebels, a ſhort while after their diſperſion, killed on Adam, a Sheriff-officer, becauſe he had given intelligence to the King's army when lying at Aberdeen.

By this time however, the peace of the country ſeemed to be pretty fully reſtored. Loudon's regiment, and two companies of Monro's and Guns, were ſtationed ſo properly, from Grieff to Fort Auguſtus and Inverneſs, that travellers met with no diſturbance; and ſometimes they were eſcorted from ſtation to ſtation, without fee.

The magiſtrates of Aberdeen preſented the freedom of that city, in a gold box, to the Duke, by the hands of John Maule, Eſq; their repreſentative in parliament.

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On the 19th of September Captain Crosby, who deserted from the British army in Flanders, and came to Scotland with the French troops, was hanged, and two other deserters shot, at Perth. The hangman of Perth absconded on this occasion; and one called from Stirling died on the road. Thereupon a prisoner brought out of jail officiated.

In the beginning of November, answers were given in for Captain Hamilton, to the complaint of Mr. Ogilvy of Coul, The Captain found caution, in terms of the interlocutor of July 31. and so was not incarcerated. It was said, *inter alia*, in these answers, That David Ogilvy, possessor of the houses and parks of Coul, had been from the beginning engaged in the rebel-army, and the Captain was not informed, whether he was proprietor or tenant, otherwise than by the complaint; that the Captain believes it may be true, that some of the dragoons might search the house of Coul for David Ogilvy the landlord, and possibly might carry off some part of his moveables, and grase some of their horses in the parks; and that when they came to be called upon in a proper manner, it was probable they would be able to justify their actings; but the Captain denied, that he or any by his order, either plundered the house of Coul, or grased any horses in the parks; that when the dragoons horses which had for some time been grased in the parks of Coul, were ordered South, the Captain judged it to be for the service of the government, to disable Ogilvy, in whose possession the parks still continued, to carry on his rebellious practices, and accordingly, after intimating a roup, let the parks to the highest bidder for 15l; but that it was never suggested, that the parks were not the proper possession of David Ogilvy, or that Ker or Guthrie, or the complainer, had any interest in them; nor did any of them apply to the Captain for redress. After stating the facts it was observed, that a mistake in law runs thro' the whole complaint; inasmuch as the complainer supposes, that as in time of peace, so in the time of open rebellion, rebels must be tried and convicted by the civil courts before either their

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their perſons or goods can be touched: but that the law ſtands directly otherwiſe; for that in an open rebellion, rebels are to be treated as enemies, and to be proceeded againſt by the military law, with which, in ſuch caſes the King is intruſted; and that the King and his officers have a legal power to deſtroy or ſeize the perſons and effects of rebels without trial or conviction, in the ſame manner as if they were foreign enemies; with this remarkable difference, that rebels have no privileges allowed to enemies in a lawful war; as they are to be held as enemies, and not ſubjects, during the ſubſiſtence of the war, and after it is over are ſubjected to the pains and forfeitures inflicted by the laws of their country. Hence it is ſubmitted, whether it would have been culpable in the Captain, to have ſeized (tho' indeed it was done without his order or privity) the moveables of David Ogilvy, who was and ſtill continued in rebellion, and who was enabled to ſupport himſelf in his rebellion by thoſe movables; or if it was culpable in him, to diſpoſſeſs the rebel of his parks; ſeeing by the laws of of war *res hoſtium* belong to the captors, *i. e.* to the prince or ſtate under whoſe authority they are taken; and ceaſe to belong to the enemy, or thoſe claiming under him. It was ſaid, that as the facts complained of were not done in an inſtant or clandeſtinely, but in the courſe of ſeveral weeks, and openly, as againſt David Ogilvy only; and as neither the complainer, nor his pretended tenants Ker and Guthrie, gave the Captain any notice of their intereſt, the caſe muſt be judged as if the goods had really been David Ogilvy's; that therefore this ſeizure is not the ſubject of a ſummary complaint, but parties muſt claim their intereſt by the common courſe of law; for that a creditor of a rebel engaged in open rebellion has no title to complain of the ſeizure of his goods by thoſe employed by the crown; That Ker and Guthrie are no parties to the complaint; and that a tenant illegally diſpoſſeſſed, had no recourſe againſt his landlord, but was left to inſiſt againſt the party that injures him: that from the moment David Ogilvy took up arms, he was liable to be diſpoſſeſſed by the King's troops,

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and forefeited all his goods to the crown, not ſubjected to any debts of a date ſubſequent to his open rebellion; that nothing can excuſe the complainer in allowing one in open rebellion to continue in poſſeſſion, and ſupport himſelf by the produce of his eſtate, except that the rebellion had put a ſtop to the courſe of law; which very reaſon demonſtrates the neceſſity and lawfulneſs of the interpoſition of military force; and that the tack being thus at an end by the tenants open rebellion, the complainer's right to the rent, or of hypotheck for ſecurity of it, was alſo at an end. Thus it was preſumed the Captain's actings would be juſtified upon the common principles of law; but, at the ſame time, the late act, *for further indemnifying ſuch perſons as have acted in defence of his Majeſty's perſon and government during the unnatural rebellion*, was pleaded upon. The paper concluded, with hoping that the Lords would diſmiſs the complaint, and decern the complainer to pay the Captain the full and real expences that he hath been put to by the ſuit. We ſhall give the interlocutor *verbatim*. *Edinburgh, December* 18. 1746. The Lords having heard the petition and complaint of Thomas Ogilvy of Coul, with the anſwers thereto for Captain Charles Hamilton, and heard parties procurators thereupon, find, the matters charged on the ſaid Captain Hamilton in the ſaid complaint, not appearing to have been adviſed, commanded or done in order to ſuppreſs the late unnatural rebellion, or for the preſervation of the publick peace, or for the ſafety or ſervice of the government, do not fall under the late act of parliament *for further indemnifying ſuch perſons, as have acted in defence of his Majeſty's perſon and government during the unnatural rebellion*; and therefore find the ſaid Captain Hamilton liable for the rent of the parks ſet to Ker and Guthrie for the current year, and for the value of the goods and cattle of David Ogilvy intromitted with by him, to the extent of the petitioners hypotheck for the ſaid David Ogilvy's rent for the current year; and remit to this week's ordinary on the bills, to hear parties on the extent of the ſaid rent, goods and cattle;

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cattle; with power to grant a proof to both parties, and to do in the premiſſes as he ſhall find juſt.'

Great diligence was uſed by ſeveral parties to trace the footſteps of the Pretender's ſon; and he muſt probably, have ſuffered great hardſhips, and been ſometimes pretty near taken. Of this we have one inſtance in letters from Aberdeen; which bore, that, ſome time after, the young Pretender came to Lady M—g—y's in great diſtreſs, and begged admiſſion; that the Lady objecting the danger, a neighbouring Gentleman preſent, touched with his condition, offered to entertain him that night, which he accepted; that after refreſhing himſelf in this Gentleman's houſe, he declared he had not touched bread for two days, nor lain in a bed for five nights, and deſired to go to bed; that he ſleept thirteen hours before he awoke, the Gentleman and two more watching for fear of a ſurpriſe; that, two hours after he was gone, an officer with a party of Campbells came up, and preſenting a piſtol to the Gentleman's breaſt, threatened to ſhoot him if he did not diſcover the Pretender; and that thereupon he owned, that a Gentleman whom he did not know, had lodged with him the night before, but ſaid he was gone, he knew not whether. It was talked about the beginning of September, that he had imbarked, ſome weeks before, in the Murray frith, on board a French privateer, which hovered for him ſome time off the Orkeney's, and that another perſonated him for a while after he was gone; and a letter from Dunkirk, dated Auguſt 22d. N. S. bore, that the young Chevalier had landed, ſome days before, at Blankenburgh, in Captain Dumont's veſſel of Dunkirk, who had gone in queſt of him. But letters from Fort William, of September 21ſt. bore, that there was an account from the braes of Locharkaig, that on Thurſday the 18th, at twelve o'clock, the Pretender's ſon imbarked on board a French ſhip of war in the ſame loch in Moydart where he firſt landed, attended by Macpherſon of Clunie, with others of his clan, Cameron of Lochiel, Dr. Cameron his brother, Ludovick Cameron of Torcaſtle, Allan Cameron, Mackdonald of Lochgary, and many others

whose names were not known; and that Barisdale was said to go on board before the Pretender's son got to the ships. About this time we were amused with the reports of a French fleet being on the coast, consisting of six ships of 60 guns each, and seven tenders: but a letter from Inverary of September 30. said, that the truth of the matter was as follows. 'On the 6th instant two French ships of force anchored at Lochnanua. Next day four Gentlemen landed, sent Hugh Mackdonald in Keppoch in quest of some of the rebel chiefs, and then returned to their ships. This man having brought Barisdale and his son to them, they landed again on the 8th, got guides to carry them to Dr. Cameron, and were no more heard of for several days. Before the 17th, the Mackdonalds of Clanronald junior, Lochgary, Glenalladel, Dalela and his two brothers, the second Barisdale and his son, and some said Stewart of Ardsheill and four Gentlemen from Appin, were got on board. On the 17th, Macdonald of Keppoch, said to have lost one arm, and to be lame in one of his legs, went on board, with three others, thought to be low country Gentlemen. On the 16th came the young Pretender, in a bad state of health, dressed in a short coat of black freeze, trowse, a philabeg, and a gray plaid, accompanied by Lochiel, Dr. Cameron, Ludovick Cameron, Cluny Macpherson, the four Gentlemen who had landed on the 8th, and ten or twelve persons more. They sailed on the 20th, without landing any force, or committing any hostilities, and were seen that evening between the isles of Coll and Muck. The Gentlemen as well as commons, were seen to weep, tho' they boasted of being back soon with an invincible force. They gave out that two sixty gun ships were cruising off Uist, to convoy them to France.' According to another letter, of October 1. eye-witnesses related, that about 600 rebels went off in the French ships.

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An account of the young Pretender's escape after the battle of Culloden. As it was inserted in the London News-papers

THAT decisive engagement was fought on the 16th of April, 1746, in which the Pretender had his horse shot under him, by one of the troopers in the King's service, as he was endeavouring to rally his people. After his forces were entirely routed, he retired to the house of the factor of Lord Lovat, about ten miles from Inverness; where, meeting with that Lord he stayed supper. After supper was over, he set out for Fort Augustus, and pursued his journey next day to Invergarry; where he proposed to have dined; but finding no victuals, he set a boy to fishing, who caught two salmond, on which he made a dinner, and continued waiting there for some of his troops who had promised to rendezvous at that place; but being disappointed, he resolved to proceed to Locharkaig.

He arrived there on the 18th at two in the morning; where he went to sleep; which he had not done for five days and nights. He remained there till five o'clock in the afternoon, in hopes of obtaining some intelligence; but gaining none, he set out from thence on foot, and travelled to the glen of Morar; where he arrived on the 19th, at four in the morning. He set out about noon the same day for Arisaig; where he arrived about four in the afernoon. He remained there seven days, waiting for Captain O Neil; who joined him on the 27th, and informed him, that there was no hopes of drawing his troops together again in a body. Upon which he resolved to go to Stornway, in order to hire a ship to go to France.

The person employed for this purpose, was one Donald Macleod, who had an interest there. On the 28th he went on board an eight-oar'd boat, in company with Sullivan and O Neil, ordering the people who belonged to the boat to make the best haste they could to Stornway. The night proving very tempestuous, they all begged of him to go back; which he would not do; but

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but, to keep up the ſpirits of the people he ſung them a highland ſong. But the weather growing worſe and worſe, on the 29th, about ſeven in the morning, they were driven on ſhore, on a point of land called Ruſhneſs, in the iſland of Benbicula; where, when they got on ſhore, the Pretender helped to make a fire to warm the crew, who were almoſt ſtarved to death with cold. On the 30th, at ſix in the evening, they ſet ſail again for Stornway; but meeting with another ſtorm, were obliged to put into the iſland of Scalpa, in the Harris; where they all went on ſhore to a farmer's houſe, paſſing for merchants that were ſhipwrecked in their voyage to the Orkneys; the Pretender and Sullivan going by the names of Sinclair; the latter paſſing for the father, and the former for the ſon.

They thought proper to ſend from thence to Donald Macleod at Stornway, with inſtructions to freight a ſhip for the Orkneys. On the 3d of May they received a meſſage from him, that the ſhip was ready. On the 4th they ſet out on foot for that place; where they arrived on the 5th, about noon; and meeting with Donald Macleod, they found that he had got into company; where, growing drunk, he had told a friend of his for whom he had hired the ſhip; upon which there were 200 people in arms at Stornway, upon a report that the Pretender was landed with 500 men, and was coming to burn the town; ſo that they were obliged to lie all night upon the moor, with no other refreſhment than biſcuit and brandy.

On the 6th they reſolved to go in the eight-oar'd boat to the Orkney's: but the crew refuſed to venture; ſo that they were obliged to ſteer South along the coaſt-ſide; where they met with two Engliſh ſhips; and this compelled them to put into a deſart iſland; where they remained till the 10th, without any proviſion but ſome ſalt fiſh which they found upon the iſland. About ten in the morning of that day they imbarked for the Harris; and at break of day on the 11th, they were chaſed by an Engliſh ſhip, but made their eſcape among the rocks. About four in the afternoon, they arrived at

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the iſland of Benbicula; where they ſtaid till the 14th and then ſet out for the mountain of Currada, in South Uiſt, where they ſtaid till the militia of the iſle of Sky, came to the iſland of Iraſky, and then ſailed for the iſland of Uia; where they remained three nights; till having intelligence that the militia were coming towards Benbicula, they immediately got into their boat, and ſailed for Lochbuſdale: but being met by ſome ſhips of war, they were oblidged to return to Lochnagnart; where they remained all day, and at night ſailed for Lochbuſdale; where they arrived, and ſtaid eight days on a rock, making a tent of the ſail of the boat.

They found themſelves there in a moſt dreadful ſituation; for having intelligence that Captain Scott had landed at Kilbryde, the company was obliged to ſeperate; and the Pretender and O Neil went to the mountains; where they remained all night, and ſoon after were informed that General Campbell was at Bernera; ſo that now they had forces very near, on both ſides of them, and were abſolutely at a loſs which way to move. In their road they met with a young Lady, one Miſs Macdonald, to whom Captain O Neil propoſed aſſiſting the Pretender to make his eſcape; which ſhe at firſt refuſed; but on his promiſing to put on womens cloaths, ſhe conſented, and deſired them to go to the mountain of Currada, till ſhe ſent for them; where they accordingly ſtaid two days; but hearing nothing from the young Lady, the Pretender concluded ſhe would not keep her word, and therefore reſolved to ſend Captain O Neil to General Campbell, to let him know he was willing to ſurrender to him. But about five in the evening, a meſſage came from the young Lady deſiring them to meet her at Ruſhneſs. Being afraid to paſs by the ford, becauſe of the militia, they luckily found a boat, which carried them to the other ſide of Uia; where they remained part of the day, afraid of being ſeen by the country-people. In the evening they ſet out for Ruſhneſs, and arrived there at twelve at night; but not finding the young Lady, and being alarmed by a boat-full of militia, they were obliged to retire two

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miles back; where the Pretender remained on a moor, till O Neil went to the young Lady, and prevailed upon her to come to the place appointed at night-fall or next day. About an hour after, they had account of General Campbell's arrival at Benbicula, which oblidged them to move to another part of the iſland; where, as the day broke they diſcovered four ſail cloſe on the ſhore, making directly up to the place where they were; ſo that there was nothing left for them to do, but to throw themſelves among the heath. When the wherries were gone, they reſolved to go to Clanronald's houſe, But when they were within a mile of it, they heard that General Campbell was there, which forced them to retreat again; and ſoon after O Neil was taken.

The young Pretender having at length, with the aſſiſtance of Captain O Neil, found Miſs Macdonald in a cottage near the place appointed, it was there determined, that he ſhould put on womens cloaths, and paſs for her waiting-maid. This being done he took leave of Sullivan and O Neil with great regret; who departed to ſhift for themſelves, leaving him and his new miſtreſs in the cottage; where they continued ſome days, during which ſhe cured him of the itch. Upon intelligence that General Campbell was gone further into the country, they removed to her couſin's; and ſpent the night in preparing for their departure to the iſle of Sky. Accordingly they ſet out the next morning, with only one man-ſervant, named Maclean, and two rowers. During their voyage they were purſued by a ſmall veſſel; but, a thick fog riſing, they arrived ſafe at midnight in that iſland, and landed at the foot of a rock, where the Lady and maid waited, while her man Maclean went to ſee if Sir Alexander Mackdonald was at home. Maclean found his way thither, but loſt it returning back. His miſtreſs and her maid, after in vain expecting him the whole night were obliged in the morning to leave the rock, and go in the boat up the creek to ſome diſtance, to avoid the militia which guarded the coaſt.

They went on ſhore again about ten o'clock, and, attended by the rowers, inquired the way to Sir Alexander

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ander's. When they had gone about two miles, they met Maclean: he told his Lady that Sir Alexander was with the Duke of Cumberland; but his Lady was at home, and would do them all the ſervice ſhe could. Whereupon they diſcharged their boat, and went directly to the houſe; where they remained two days; Betty being always in her Lady's chamber, except o'night, to prevent a diſcovery. But a party of the Macleods, having intelligence that ſome ſtrangers were arrived at Sir Alexander's, and knowing his Lady was well affected to the Pretender, came thither, and demanding to ſee the new-comers, were introduced to Miſs's chamber, where ſhe ſat with her new maid. the latter hearing the militia was at the door, had the preſence of mind to get up and open it; which occaſioned his being leſs taken notice of: and after they had narrowly ſearched the cloſets they withdrew.

The inquiry however alarmed the Lady, and the next day ſhe ſent her maid to a ſteward of Sir Alexander's, Macdonald of Kingſburgh ten miles diſtant: where he remained but one day; for on receiving intelligence that it was rumoured he was diſguiſed in a woman's habit, Kingſburgh furniſhed him with a ſuit of his own cloaths, and he went in a boat to Macleod of Raza's. But having no proſpect of eſcaping thence to France, he returned back on foot to the iſle of Sky, being thirty miles, with no attendant but a ferryman, whom he would not ſuffer to carry his wallet, Raza aſſuring him that the elder Laird of Macinnon would render him all the ſervice in his power.

When he arrived, not knowing the way to Macinnon's houſe, he chanced to inquire of a Gentleman whom he met on the top of the mountain. This Gentleman having ſeen him before, thought he recollected his face, and aſked him if he was not the P—? This greatly ſurpriſed him; but ſeeing the Gentleman had only one perſon, a ſervant, with him, he anſwered. *I am:* at the ſame time putting himſelf in a poſture of defence. But this perſon immediately diſcovered himſelf to be his good friend Captain Macleod, and conducted him to Macinnon's

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Macinnon's. The old man inſtantly knew him; but adviſed him immediately to go to Lochaber. And he accordingly ſet ſail in a veſſel which Macinnon procured for that purpoſe.

After remaining ſeven days in the glens of Morar, he received advice, that Macdonald of Lochgary expected him in Lochaber, where he had 100 reſolute highlanders in arms. Upon this he went over the hill of Morar, in a tattered highland habit, and was joyfully received by Lochgary at the head of his men.

With this party he removed from place to place; till finding he could no longer remain in Lochaber, he removed to Badenoch. But being harraſſed by the King's troops, and loſing daily ſome of his men in ſkirmiſhing, they diſperſed; and the Pretender, with Lochiel, Bariſdale, and ſome othes, ſkulked about in Moidart. Here they received advice, that two French privateers were at anchor in Lochnanaugh in Moidart, in one of which, called the Happy, he imbarked, with 23 Gentlemen, and 107 common men, and ſoon after arrived ſafe in France.

On the 9th of October, the Prtender's Son with about 30 of his followers, all very bare of cloaths, landed at Roſcort, three leagues from Morlaix, from on board the Happy privateer, of 30 guns and 300 men, and the Prince of Conti privateer, of 22 guns and 240 men. They came round the land's end, and were chaſed one afternoon: but thick weather coming on, ſaved them; otherwiſe they owned they muſt have been taken. The young Pretender, without delay, repaired to Paris; where he was kindly received by the French King, who gave him the Titles of *Prince of Wales*, and his *Royal Highneſs*. His Majeſty alſo ordered him 800,000 livres to buy a new equipage, which he very much wanted. It was ſaid that an appointment was likewiſe made him of 600,000 livres *per annum*.

END of the HISTORY.

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APPENDIX

TO THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION;

Containing an Account of the Trials of the Rebels, &c.

A Precept was ſigned, on the 7th of June, by the Lord Chief Juſtices, Chief Baron, and ſeveral of the Judges in Weſtminſter hall, to the Sheriff of Surrey, to ſummon a jury to appear at St. Margaret's Hill, Southwark, on the 23d of June, to try ſeveral rebels priſoners there. On the 23d, eight of the Judges (*viz* Sir William Lee, Sir John Willes, Sir Martin Wright, Sir Thomas Abney, Sir James Reynolds, Mr. Juſtice Burnet, Mr. Baron Clerk, and Mr. Baron Clive) went in proceſſion from Serjeants inn in Chancery lane, to the town-hall of St. Margaret's Hill, and opened the ſpecial commiſſion for the trial of the rebel-priſoners. My Lord Chief Juſtice Lee gave the grand jury a learned and judicious charge; which being ended, they withdrew; and in an hour and a half returned, having found a true bill againſt William Earl of Kilmarnock, George Earl of Cromarty, and Arthur Lord Balmerino, for high treaſon, in levying war againſt his Majeſty. There were preſent Thomas Page, Eſq; High Sheriff of Surrey, Sir Dudley Rider, Attorney-General, Henry Maſterman, Eſq; Maſter of the Crown-office, John Chambre-Vernon, Eſq; Clerk of the Arraigns, and a great number

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of the Juſtices of the Peace named in the commiſſion. The Gentlemen that compoſed the grand jury were, Sir William Richardſon of Bermondſey, Sir Abraham Shard of Kennington, Sir Thomas Hankey of Clapham, Sir Peter Thomſon of Bermondſey, Knights, and Joſias Wordſworth of Adſcomb, Samuel Atkinſon of Croydon, Percival Lewis of Putney, John Copeland of Camberwell, Charles Hoſkins of Croydon, Joſeph Crefwick of Streatham, William Clarke of Southwark, Joſeph Willoughby of Croydon, Thomas Bevois of Bermondſey, Elias Bird of Rotherhith, Thomas Tarrant of Southwark, Edward Stevens of Southwark, Henry Robinſon of Wandſworth, John Heathfield of Croydon, Nathaniel Green of Southwark, Iſaac Eeles of Lambeth, John Smith of Lambeth, Hemmet Richardſon of Bermondſey, and Samuel Nicholſon of Croydon, Eſqs.

The grand jury met again on the 25th and 26th, and found bills of indictment againſt the following rebel-officers taken at Carliſle, *viz.* John Hamilton, Governor of the caſtle of Carliſle; Francis Townly, Colonel of the Mancheſter regiment, and Governor of the city of Carliſle; John Saunderſon, Alexander Blood, George Fletcher, Peter Moſs, James Dawſon, Thomas and Charles Deacons, Thomas Siddal, John Holker, John Berwick, Thomas Furnival, Thomas Chaddock, James Wilding, John Betts, John Hunter, William Britte, and Chriſtopher Taylor, Engliſh; and Robert Forbes, James Ged, Charles Gordon, James Gordon (a Prieſt), Alexander and George Abernethies, John Burnet, John Cumrie, Alexander Macgrouthers ſenior and junior, James Nicolſon, Walter Mitchel, George Ramſay, Alexander Leith, Donald Macdonald, Walter Ogilvy, and James Stratton, Scots; and againſt David Morgan of Derby, Eſq; Barriſter at Law; who were to be arraigned on the 3d of July, and their trials to begin on the 7th. The ſpelling of ſome of the names here, and in the liſt of officers taken at Carliſle, differs; as does likewiſe the corps to which ſome of the Scots officers were laid in the news papers to belong, which therefore we have

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have omitted, Samuel Maddock, of the Manchester regiment, became an evidence.

On the 14th, the Lords appointed a committee to search the records for precedents in relation to the trial of Peers for high treason, and ordered the three Chief Judges to attend; next day the committee and the Judges searched the records accordingly; on the 27th the report was received; and thereupon their Lordships appointed the three rebel Peers to be tried on Monday the 28th of July, Kilmarnock at nine o'clock, Cromarty at ten, and Balmerino at eleven, on bills of indictment for high treason found against them respectively; and ordered every Peer who had a right to sit and vote in parliament, to appear at and attend the said trials, and that said order should be affixed to the doors of the house, and of Westminster hall, and also published in the London Gazette, at least twenty days before the trials. Their Lordships the same day ordered an address, That the King would appoint a Lord High Steward, and that a place might be prepared in Westminster hall, for the said trials; which having been presented, the Lord Chamberlain acquainted the house on the 30th, by his Majesty's command, that directions would be given accordingly.

About this time several ships with rebel-prisoners arrived from Scotland. About 200 were left at Tilbury fort, and about 600 came up the river on the 21st of June. The Marquis of Tullibardine, Lord Macleod, and Mr. Murray, were commited to the tower; two of the chiefs, to Newgate; the officers, to the new goal, Southwark; and the common men, to the Marshalsea. The following list of the officers was published, *viz.* the Marquis of Tullibardine, Lord Macleod, Sir James Kinloch; Colonels Francis Farquharson and Henry Ker; Majors James Stuart, Alexander Maclachlan, and James Rattary; Captains John Farquharson, Allan Cameron, John Campbell, Andrew Wood, Alexander Buchanan, Rod. Macculloch, Colin Mackenzie, Alex. and Charles Kinlochs, And. Spreul, and Alex. Cuming; Lieutenants Rod. Will. and Alex. Mackenzies, Geo. St. Clair, Hector Campbell,

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and Tho. Watſon: Enſigns Duncan Gordon, Allan Stuart, Hector Mackenzie, James Stormont, James Moodie,——Hay, and James Lindſay; Sir John Wedderburn, and James Bradſhaw, Lifeguard-men; James Dods, Deputy Commiſſary; John Cairns, Clerk of the Stores; George Law, and James Grant, Chaplains; Alex. Grant of Glenmorgan, Adam Hay, Will. Gibbon, Charles Chalmers, Alex. Grant of Shoglie, James Grant of Lochleter. Charles Faulkener John Niſbet, Charles Allan, and the Hon. William Murray, voluntiers; and Ja. Pinkerton, John Leitch, Alex. Low jun. James Dras, and Pat. Cuſhnie, on ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices.

Bills of indictment were found againſt thirty ſeven rebel-priſoners, as before mentioned. But three of them had made their eſcape a day or two before, *viz. John Betts*, out of New priſon, Clerkenwell; and *Peter Moſs* and *John Holker*, out of Newgate. Early in the morning of the 26th of June, the remaining thirty four were carried in coaches from Newgate and New priſon to the court-houſe on St. Margaret's Hill; and having anſwered to their names, they were committed to the new goal, Southwark. Copies of their indictments was delivered them on the 28th of June; and on the third of July they were again carried to the court-houſe, and arraigned, before the Lords Chief Juſtices Lee and Willes, Mr. Juſtice Wright, and Meſſ. Barons Reynolds, Clarke and Clive. *Alexander Abernethy*, a ſurgeon, *James Ged*, a printer, both Captains in Perth's regiment, and *Thomas Furnival*, of Cheſhire a Manchester warehouſeman, a Lieutenant in the Manchester regiment, pleaded Guilty, and begged of the judges to recommend them to his Majeſty's mercy. All the reſt pleaded Not Guilty. As their trials were appointed to begin on the 7th, they preſented petitions, praying for longer time; alledging that their moſt material witneſſes lived in Scotland and Lancaſhire; and made oath, that the contents of the petitions were matters of fact. The court adjourned to conſider of them; and next day the priſoners were brought to the bar, and acquainted, that the

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the trials of the Engliſh priſoners was deferred till the 15th; and thoſe of the Scots till the 25th.

Accordingly, on the 15th, the Lords Chief Juſtices Lee and Willes, Meſſ. Juſtices Wright, Denniſon, Foſter, and Abney, and Meſſ. Barons Reynolds and Clive, being met in court, *Francis Townly*, Colonel of the Mancheſter regiment, and Governor of the city of Carliſle, was brought to the bar, the jury ſworn, and his indictment read, ſetting forth, That the priſoner, with others, intending to ſubvert the government, to put the King to death, to inthral theſe kingdoms into ſlavery, and to fix the Pretender on the throne, the priſoner did on the 10th of November laſt, appear, arrayed in a hoſtile manner, at the city of Carliſle, with 3000 perſons and upward, in a rebellious manner, with guns, ſwords, and other weapons, drums beating, colours flying, pipes playing, and there levied a cruel war, took poſſeſſion of the city and citadel of Carliſle aforeſaid, made a cruel ſlaughter of the King's ſubjects, and did keep and defend the ſaid city. The council for the King were, Mr. Attorney General, Sir John Strange, Mr. Solicitor General, Sir Richard Lloyd, and the Honourable Mr. Yorke; and for the priſoner, Mr. Serjeant Wynne, and Mr. Clayton.

The King's council having opened the charge, produced their witneſſes.

Roger Macdonald (an Iriſhman) depoſed, That he ſaw the priſoner at Derby, and alſo between Lancaſter and Preſton; that he wore a plaid ſaſh, a brace of piſtols and had a white cockade in his hat; that he marched at the head of the regiment, with drums beating, and colours flying, on one ſide of which was written LIBERTY AND PROPERTY, and on the other CHURCH AND COUNTRY; that he was looked upon by both officers and ſoldiers as Colonel of the Mancheſter regiment, gave command to all the officers under him, and that they obeyed him as principal officer; that he often rode at the head of the regiment on a bay horſe: and being aſked, What number at that time the rebel-army might conſiſt of? ſaid he believed 5600 men, but not

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all armed. This witneſs being aſked by the priſoner's council, If he was not promiſed, or did not expect a pardon? depoſed, That he had no certain promiſe of a pardon; that he was firſt examined at Inverneſs, by the Judge-Advocate of Scotland, but was not aſſured of a pardon; that however he expected to be pardoned, as he was only a ſervant; and that he was brought aſhore very poor, and without any thing to ſubſiſt on.

Samuel Maddox (an apothecary's apprentice, in Manchester who joined the rebels, and was made an Enſign among them) confirmed Macdonald's evidence, and added, That a guard from the Mancheſter regiment was mounted every day, and centinels placed at the priſoners quarters; that at Derby, by the particular order and direction of the priſoner, the rebels beat up for voluntiers for the Mancheſter regiment, commanded by the Honourable Colonel Francis Townly; that the priſoner, and ſome of his regiment, took a ſack full of arms out of a houſe between Derby and Aſhbourn, lodged them all night in his own room, and diſpoſed of them afterwards among his men; that when they came to Carliſle, he was by the Pretender's ſon made commandant of that city, and had another commiſſion given him to raiſe a regiment of horſe; that ſo ſoon as the rebel-army were gone for Scotland, he took on him the command of the rebel-forces left in Carliſle, ordered the guns to be mounted, chevaux de frize to be fixed at the entrances of the city, and a houſe to be burnt from which the King's forces had fired, and annoyed the Pretender's army; that he ordered ſome of the rebels then in Carliſle, to ſally out and bring in ſome ſheep, and mounted the walls himſelf, with a piſtol in his hand, to give notice if the King's forces were near where the men were to go; that the priſoner paid the men of his own company himſelf, as all the Captains of companies did theirs, and the witneſs heard him complain, that he was fourſcore pounds out of pocket in paying his men; that, before the capitulation of Carliſle, the witneſs heard the priſoner have ſome words with, and that he ſeemed to be in a great paſſion at Colonel Hamilton,

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milton, for surrendering the place, and not making a defence to the last; saying, *It was better to die by the sword, than to fall into the hands of those damn'd Hanoverians.* This witness being asked by the prisoner's council, Whether the Duke did not promise them, or whether they did not expect mercy, upon their surrender of Carlisle; or if they all expected to be hanged? and, Whether he himself had any promise of, or expected any reward or pardon after having given his evidence against the prisoner at the bar, or the others in custody? deposed, That all the terms the Duke said they were to expect, were, That they should not be put to the sword, but left to the King's pleasure; that they were all put prisoners into the church; that they did not expect to be hanged, for they were in expectation of being at liberty soon again: and, That he could not say he ever had any promise of a reward; that no body ever told him he should be pardoned, but his friends advised him to be an evidence; and that if he could have a free pardon he should be very thankful for it.

Austin Coleman (an Irishman) deposed to the prisoner's acting as a chief officer at Carlisle, being commandant of the city, supplying the soldiers with arms, and commanding the Manchester regiment; but either spoke nonsense, or jested, when asked at what time he saw the prisoner at Carlisle.

Captain Carey, of the foot-guards, deposed, That having orders from the Duke, to take care of the Governor of Carlisle, and to examine all the rebel prisoners papers, he applied to the prisoner, who said he had delivered his commission before to Major Adams; that the prisoner had some guineas in his pockets, and his watch; which he did not take from him; for the Duke's orders were, not to take any money out of the pockets of any of the officers, only to seize all publick money that they had collected; for that what money they had in their pockets, might, be of service to them in their confinement; that the capitulation was signed by the Duke of Richmond; thereby the rebels in Carlisle were

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were to be at the King's pleasure: and being shewed a paper, he said it was the capitulation; which was read in court.

Captain Nevet, of the third regiment of foot-guards, deposed, That he went by order of the Duke to visit and examine the rebel officers in Carlisle; and that the prisoner was one of them, and went by the name of Colonel Townly, and commandant of Carlisle.

Captain Vere, an officer sent by the Duke of Newcastle upon the publick service, deposed in these words; "I saw the prisoner on the 20th of November at Carlisle, for I was taken prisoner a little before by the rebel army. He was called Colonel Townly, Colonel of the Manchester regiment, and commandant of the town. On the 26th of December he appeared with a white cockade. I went up to Colonel Hamilton's room; where we talked of a capitulation; and Mr. Hamilton was willing to agree to it. We then wrote a letter to his Royal Highness the Duke; and the messenger who carried it was made a prisoner: and Mr. Hamilton desired me to go to Captain Abernethy, and the Scots officers; and they agreed to what was done, and the next day they hung out the white flag;" and added, That the prisoner appeared as commanding officer, that the witness saw his commission in the guard-room.

Mr. Davidson, a grocer of Carlisle, deposed, That the prisoner acted as commandant of Carlisle, and Colonel of the Manchester regiment; and that the witness being present when he ordered a house to be set on fire at Carlisle, and asking him the reason, the prisoner replied, That several of the Elector of Hanover's men had fired from it, and annoyed his men.

Here the King's council rested the matter.

The prisoner's council pleaded in his defence, That Mr. Townly was a Gentleman of a good family; and that his education was suitable to his birth, but by family misfortunes he was obliged to retire to France in 1728; that being taken notice of at the French court as a man of spirit, and recommended to the King, he got a commission in the army; that he served at the siege of Philipsburgh

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lipſburgh under the Duke of Berwick who loſt his life, before the walls of that place; that in this and ſeveral other ſieges and engagements, his behaviour gained him the eſteem of all the officers in the army, being always ſuch as became a man of honour; executing the orders of his ſuperiors with the greateſt intrepedity, and expoſing himſelf on every occaſion in ſuch a manner as if life was of no ſignification, when honour and the ſervice of his maſter ſtood in competition with it; that as he received the French King's pay, he thought it his duty to ſerve him faithfully; that he continued in the French ſervice till a few years ago, that he returned into England, and lived there privately, till about the time of the breaking out of the rebellion; that the French King, having meditated an Invaſion of theſe kingdoms, and judging that he might be of ſervice in promoting it, ſent him a Colonel's commiſſion, to enable him to raiſe forces, and to aſſiſt his ally the Pretender, in his expedition to Scotland; and as it thus appeared, that the priſoner had been ſixteen years in the ſervice of France, and had the French King's commiſſion all that time, that therefore, tho' he ſhould unhappily be found acting in this unnatural rebellion, he had a right to the cartel ſetled for exchange of priſoners.

Theſe facts, and alſo, that Colonel Townly had been conſtantly ſupplied from France after he had been taken at Carliſle, were offered to be proved by Captain Carpentier; and John Haywood and Thomas Dickinſon were brought to invalidate Maddox's evidence, by ſhewing the badneſs of his character.

Carpentier having been accordingly ſwore, the King's council aſked, What he was to prove? The council on the other ſide anſwered, That the priſoner had a commiſſion from the French King, and that he was at the ſiege of Philipſburgh. But they were told by the court, That this would make againſt them; for that no man who is by leige a ſubject of the King, can juſtify taking up of arms, and acting in the ſervice of a prince that is actually in war againſt in his Majeſty. On which Carpenteir was ſet aſide without being examined.

Hayward

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Hayward depoſed, That Maddox bore a very bad character, and that he would not believe him upon his oath. Dickinſon confirmed this, and added, That he heard Maddox was a very bad apprentice, and had wronged his maſter. But being aſked by the King's council, Dickinſon depoſed, That he ſaw the priſoner at Mancheſter, and that he was Colonel of the Mancheſter regiment in the rebel-army.

A point of law was likewiſe pleaded for the priſoner, as if the day when the treaſon was done had not been mentioned in the indictment; which, after being replied to by Mr. Solicitor General, was over-ruled by the court.

The Lord Chief Juſtice Lee then ſummed up the evidence, and gave a charge to the jury; who thereupon conſulted together in court; but not agreeing, withdrew, returned in in ten minutes, and brought in a verdict Guilty.

On the 16th, the Lord Cheif Juſtice Lee, Mr. Juſtice Wright, and Mr. Baron Reynolds, being met in court, Mr. Attorney General, Sir John Strange, and Sir Richard Lloyd, apearing as council for the King, and Mr. Serjeant Wynne and Mr. Parrot for the priſoners; *George Fletcher*, a Captain, was brought to the bar. After the jury were ſworn, the indictment (the ſame in ſubſtance with Colonel Townly's) was read, and the King's council opened the charge. Then the King's evidence were examined, *viz.* Ormſby Maccormack, an Iriſh weaver, and Thomas Craig, both of the Mancheſter regiment; Thomas Bradbury, ſervant to a printer at Mancheſter; and Samuel Maddox, Auſtin Coleman, and Captain Nevet, before mentioned. Bradbury depoſed, That he was preſent at Mancheſter when a drum was beating up for voluntiers for the Mancheſter regiment; and that when the Serjeant had ended his ſpeech, the priſoner pulled off his hat, and cried, *God bleſs King James and Prince Charles!* Captain Nevet depoſed, That he by the Duke's order, took the names, ranks and qualities of the rebel officers at Carliſle; that the priſoner ſaid he was a Captain, and that next day, upon calling

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calling over their names, he answered to *Captain Fletcher.* The rest deposed to the prisoner's acting as a Captain in the Manchester regiment, particularly at Carlisle. Maddox added, That the prisoner, hearing, at Blackersley, in their march from Manchester for Derby, that Maddox had thoughts of returning home, told him it would be scandalous to make such a shameful retreat, and pulling out a handful of gold, said he should never want while that lasted. Maccormack said the prisoner was called *Captain Dawson;* and being bid look at him again, said tho' he might mistake the name, he was sure as to the person.

The prisoner's defence. Anne Action, who lived twenty seven years in his family, deposed, That he and his mother lived together: that the rebels came to Manchester on the 29th of November, and a great many of them were quartered at their house; that the mother retired; that the rebels came back to Manchester on the 8th of December; that Captain Robertson, who commanded the soldiers at their house before, came a second time, and asked for the prisoner, that half a dozen soldiers at the door, swore they would have him, dragged him away with tears in his eyes, and she never saw him after; that she never knew him do a bad thing; that he always behaved dutifully to K. George and the Royal family; and that she never saw the least willingness in him to join the pretender. But being cross-examined, it was said she prevaricated.—Two other witnesses were examined in his defence; but could say nothing.—The jury, without going out of the court, found the prisoner Guilty.

Fletcher's trial over, *Thomas Chadwick,* or *Chaddock,* a Lieutenant, and *William Bretah,* or *Bretter,* (called Bradshaw, an Ensign, were brought to the bar.

Maddox deposed, That Chadwick acted as a Lieutetant, and Bretah as an Ensign, in the Manchester regiment; that Chadwick entertained the witness and several rebel officers in Lancaster Church, by playing on the organ, *The King shall enjoy his own again:* that he saw both the prisoners in the room with the young

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pretender

pretender at Carliſle, where all the officers were drawn up to take leave of him before he left that place; and that he ſaw them both mount guard in the town-hall, a day or two after.—Being aſked by the priſoner's council, How long he had known Bretah? Whether he had a quarrel with him at Carliſle? and, If the witneſs did not promiſe to be revenged on him? he depoſed, That he had known Bretah upwards of two years; that he was an attorney's clerk; that he perſuaded the witneſs to join the rebels before he had any inclination to do it; that proviſions being ſcarce at Carliſle, Bretah would have ſome ſauſages from the witneſs, which he not caring to part with, they thereupon fought; but that the witneſs never promiſed to do him ill, and would not ſwear away any man's life for a ſauſage. Being further aſked, 'Don't you ſwear in expectation of ſaving your life?' Mr. Attorney-General ſaid, 'It was not a proper queſtion; that has been anſwered already.' Sir John Strange then aſked the witneſs, 'Do you expect to ſave yourſelf by ſwearing?' and was anſwered, 'No; I will ſwear nothing but truth; and what I have ſworn, was all matter of fact.

Craig depoſed to Chadwick's acting as a Lieutenant in the rebel army; and Coleman and Maccormack depoſed to both the priſoners appearing as officers in it.

John Collins, of thirteen years of age, after being examined as to his knowledge of the nature of an oath, depoſed, That he was a ſervant to Captain Lowther, and taken priſoner at Carliſle; that on his knees he begged his life of the Duke, which his Royal Highneſs generouſly granted that he knew both the priſoners perfectly well; and that Chadwick acted at Carliſle as a Lieutenant, and Bretah as an Enſign.

Captain Nevet depoſed to his having taken the priſoners names at Carliſle, and to Chadwick's anſwering as a Lieutenant, and Bretah as an Enſign.

The priſoners making no defence, the jury, without going out of court, found both guilty.

On the 17th, *Chriſtopher Taylor*, called Charles Gaylor, an Enſign, was brought to the bar. He retracted his former plea, and pleaded Guilty.

Taylor

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Taylor being ordered back to prison, *James Dawson*, a Captain, and, *Thomas Deacon*, and *John Berwick*, Lieutenants, were tried, and all found Guilty. The evidences against Dawson were, Thomas Joy and James Warren; against Deacon, Bradbury and Craig; against Berwick, Mr. Bouker the Manchester constable; and against each of the three, Maddox, and Captains Nevet and Carey. All the prisoners were proved to have acted as officers among the rebels at Carlisle. It was moreover deposed as to Deacon, by Bradbury, that the prisoner and others forced the witness, in the absence of his master, to print several treasonable manifestoes, advertisements, &c. And Maddox deposed, that Deacon sat at the table at the Bullhead at Manchester, took down the names of such as inlisted in the pretender's service, and received a shilling for each; and when he was writting, he employed himself in making blue and white ribbons into favours, which he gave to the men who inlisted. The prisoners made no defence.

John Hunter, an Ensign, was tried also on the 17th. But no evidence deposing that they saw him in arms; and Captain Vere, and others, giving an account, that he had run away eleven miles, in order to escape from the rebels, but was overtaken, and made to return, on pain of death; and that Captain Vere and the prisoner were tied together with a rope to a horse's tail, and obliged to run many miles without shoes, in great torment; Hunter was acquited, his irons struck off, and discharged.

The judges this day were, Lord Chief Justice Willes, and Mess. Justices Abney and Foster; the council for the King, Mr. Attorney-General, Mr. Solicitor-General, and Mr. Yorke; and for the prisoners, Mr. Serjeant Wynne, Mr. Clayton, and Mr. Parrot.

On the 18th, the Lord Cheif Justice Willes, Mr. Justice Wright, and Mr. Baron Clive, met in court; and *Andrew Blood*, a Captain, having been brought to the bar, he retracted his former plea, and pleaded Guilty.

Then *John Saunderson* a Captain, *Thomas Syddall*, an Ensign and Adjutant, *James Wilding* and *Charles Deacon*, Ensigns, and *David Morgan*, Esq; Counsel-

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lor at Law, were tried, and all found Guilty. It was proved, that they acted as officers in the rebel-army. John Davidson, a Gentleman of Cumberland, Allan Stewart, and Warren, Bradbury, Craig, Joy, &c. before mentioned, were evidences against them.

As to Morgan, in particular, it appeared, that he came out of Monmouthshire, and joined the rebels at Preston, in November 1745; that he procured a warrant from Secretary Murray, directed to the constables of Manchester, to search for arms, on pain of military execution against such as should refuse to deliver them up; that being at dinner with several rebel-officers at Derby, he asked Lord Elcho, what number of men they had? to which his Lordship answered, About 4 or 5000, and 17 pieces of cannon; that he then asked, what religion the young Pretender was of? and Lord Elcho replied, shaking his head, that he believed his religion was to seek; that the prisoner advised to beat up for voluntiers, and said that it would be an easy matter to march to London, for that there were not above 3000 soldiers between Derby and that city, and these mostly dragoons, except a few undisciplined troops lately raised by Lords Gower and Cholmondeley, who could make but little opposition; that the prisoner was next day seen wearing a sword and a white cockade, walking and conversing with the rebel-officers, who shewed him a more than ordinary regard; and that he was called the Pretender's councellor, In his defence he endeavoured to prove, that he was forced into the rebellion; and that he attempted to make his escape, and had got at some distance from the rebel-army, but was seized on suspicion, and committed. But it was observed by the court, that he did not endeavour to escape till the Pretender's affairs were desperate; and that as his joining himself to, and acting in concert with the rebels, was sufficiently proved, the jury would consider his attempt to escape at last, as proceeding from necessity, and would pass their judgment upon him according to his voluntary and premeditated actions. The prisoner complained of his being tried last, because, he said, some of the prisoners who

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had been convicted before him, would have been evidences for him; and he made a long harangue to set forth his innocence. But five of the witnesses against him not having been concerned in the rebellion, the jury were so fully satisfied, that they brought him in Guilty, with the rest, who made no defence, without going out of court.

Thus ended the trials of the officers of the Manchester regiment. They were all indicted of three overt acts of high treason, *viz.* of compassing and imagining the death of the King; of levying a cruel and destructive war against his Majesty, wherein many of his loyal subjects lost their lives; and of holding and keeping the city and castle of Carlisle, and adhering to his Majesty's enemies. And this treason was said to have been committed on the 10th of November, in the 19th year of the King's reign, against the duty and allegiance of the prisoners, and against the King's peace, his crown and dignity, *&c*, The time, place, or circumstances, were not varied in any of the indictments, except Counsellor Morgan's; who was indicted, for having been in arms at Derby, on the 5th of December, and adhering to the King's enemies, *&c*.

Soon after the court broke up, all those found guilty received notice in writing from the prosecutor for the crown, that they were to receive sentence of death on Tuesday the 22d, and to come prepared if they had any thing to move in arrest of judgment.

Accordingly, on said 22d, the Lord Chief Justice Lee, Mess. Justices Wright, Foster, and Abney, and Mess. Barons Reynolds and Clive, met in court, and all the convicts were brought before them. Two points were moved by their council in arrest of judgment: 1. That the test of the commission was not set out in the caption of the indictments; and, 2. That it was not set out in the indictment, that the prisoners were in actual custody on or before the 1st of January 1746 (*i. e.* 1747), pursuant to the late statute. But the court, being unanimously of opinon, that these exceptions were not good in law, over-ruled them; and the Lord Chief

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Juſtice Lee, addreſſing himſelf to the priſoners, obſerved, that the crime they ſtood convicted of, was the moſt atrocious that mankind could commit; that as they had ſo greatly offended the government by which they were protected, they could expect no protection or clemency from that government which they had endeavoured to ſubvert and overturn; that they had murdered many of his Majeſty's liege ſubjects, who lately ſtood up in defence of their lawful ſovereign, and the laws and conſtitution of their country, whoſe blood cried for vengeance againſt them; and that unleſs they repented ſincerely in this world, they would inevitably be doomed to everlaſting torments, &c Then his Lordſhip pronounced the ſentence of the court, declaring, that the following perſons were attainted of high treaſon, in levying war againſt our Sovereign Lord the King within this realm, *viz.* *Alexander Abernethy*, *James Gadd* otherwiſe *Gad*, *Thomas Furniwall*, *Chriſtopher Taylor*, and *Andrew Blood* otherwiſe *Blyde*, on their own confeſſions; and *Francis Townly*, *George Fletcher*, *William Brettaugh* otherwiſe *Bratter* otherwiſe *Bretter*, *Thomas Chadwick* otherwiſe *Chaddock*, *Thomas Deacon*, *James Dawſon*, *John Berwick*, *John Saunderſon*, *Thomas Syddal*, *Charles Deacon*, *James Wilding* otherwiſe *Wheelding*, and *David Morgan*, on verdict; and concluding thus: 'Let the ſeveral priſoners above named return to the goal of the county of Surrey, from whence they came; and from whence they muſt be drawn to the place of execution; and when they are come there, they muſt be ſeverally hanged by the neck; but not till they be dead; for they muſt be cut down alive: then their bowels muſt be taken out, and burnt before their faces; then their heads muſt be ſevered from their bodies and their bodies ſeverally divided into four quarters; and theſe muſt be at the King's diſpoſal.' Townly and Dawſon ſpoke each of them a conſiderable time. It was ſaid that ſome of them preſented petitions to the court, and that in general they deſired to be recommended to the King's mercy. On their trials they ſeemed to have deceived themſelves with a vain expectation of deliverance, from a miſtaken reli-

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ance on the capitulation of Carliſle, imagining that they were intitled to the ſame treatment as the ſubjects of a foreign prince taken priſoners of war on a like capitulation. The council that attended were, for the King, Mr. Attorney-General, Sir John Strange, Mr. Solicitor-General, Sir Richard Llyod, Mr. Yorke, and Mr. Spooner; and for the priſoners, Serjeant Wynne, and Serjeant Eyre.

In paſſing to and from their trials, the priſoners were very rudely treated by the ſpectators, who were exceedingly numerous, and whoſe reſentment was ſo great, that had not the ſoldiers kept them off, it is probable they would have pulled the priſoners out of the coaches, and torn them to pieces.

On the 29th, an order came to the goal, for the execution, next day, of *Francis Townly*, *George Fletcher*, *Thomas Chadwick*, *James Dawſon*, *Thomas Deacon*, *John Berwick*, *Andrew Blood*, *Thomas Syddal*, and *David Morgan*; and the other eight, *Alexander Abernethy*, *James Gad*, *Thomas Furnival*, *William Bretah*, *Chriſtopher Taylor*, *John Saunderſon*, *James Wilding*, and *Charles Deacon*, were reprieved for three weeks. It was ſaid, that when the two laſt were found Guilty, the jury recommended them to the court for his Majeſty's clemency, on account of their youth.

Before giving an account of the execution of theſe unhappy men, we ſhall relate ſome particulars concerning their characters, circumſtances, &c. from a pamphlet publiſhed ſoon after their executions, intitled, *A genuine account of the behaviour*, &c. *of Francis Townly*, &c.

Francis Townly, aged about thirty ſeven, years, was born at Townly-hall, in Lancaſhire, the ſeat of the family. He was nephew to that Mr. Townly who in 1715 was tried at the Marſhalſea court, before Judge Powis, for favouring the Pretender, but acquitted. As Francis was but young when his father died, he ſoon run through a handſome fortune. He then entered himſelf a volunteer in the French army; in which he ſoon got a commiſſion, as was related. While he lay in Newgate, he

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kept himself generally in his room, and conversed but little with his fellow prisoners; looking on them, according to our author, as his inferiors, and discovering a great deal of pride and haughtiness. On his trial, his behaviour was serious and undaunted; not at all terrified by the solemnity of the court: nor did he seem in the least ruffled, or to change countenance, when sentence of death was pronounced upon him. He was a Roman Catholick.

George Fletcher, aged about twenty eight years, lived with his mother, at Salford, just over the bridge at Manchester, his father having been some time dead. He dealt pretty largely in the linnen manufacture, and had a good character.

Thomas Chadwick, aged about thirty two years, was bred a tallow-chandler at Manchester, but did not follow his trade. His father still lives there, has a good reputation, is a Protestant, and brought up his son in the same religion, and gave him an education suitable to his circumstances. Thomas was a man of great resolution, feared no body, and could, as he used to say, look death in the face, with as much pleasure as he would a friend who came to visit him, and could meet it with as much good-will.

James Dawson, was of as genteel and reputable a family as any in Lancashire. His father, is esteemed very rich, gave him a liberal education, and brought him up a Protestant, the religion he himself professed. At St. John's colledge, Cambridge, James run into several excesses; and at last, dreading to be expelled the colledge, he ran away from it. But suspecting that his father would not receive him, and meeting the rebel-army at Manchester, he joined it.

Thomas Deacon was the son of a Doctor of Physick at Manchester, a Gentleman eminent in his profession, and of an opulent fortune. The Doctor designed to bring up his son Thomas to his own profession, and therefore sent him to the university, intending to give him a very liberal education. But in his education he was unhappily prejudiced in favour of the Pretender. Charles Deacon,

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con, a younger ſon of the Doctor, about ſeventeen years of age, was one of thoſe that were reprieved; but he was ſaid to have declared, that he would rather die with his brother, than ſurvive him.

John Berwick, aged about thirty one years, dealt in checked linen, kept a ſhop at Mancheſter, and had a good trade. But it was ſaid, that being a lover of pleaſure, he ran behind with the world. He was a man of undaunted reſolution, firm to his party, ſtaunch in his principles, and of a bold enterpriſing diſpoſition.

Andrew Blood was of a reputable family in Yorkſhire, and was ſteward to a Gentleman in that county.

Thomas Syddall, aged about forty years, a Roman Catholick, born at Mancheſter, was a barber; and being of a civil deportment, he had a great deal of buſineſs in that town. He lived in good credit, and took great care of his family, a wife, and five children, whom he brought up in a genteel manner. His father, was executed at Mancheſter, and his head put up on the market-croſs, being in the rebellion in 1715; but this was ſo far from being a caution to the ſon, that he gloried in what he had done; and ſome of his friends, after ſentence, deploring his unhappy condition, and bewailing the diſtreſſes which his family muſt inevitably ſuffer by his untimely death, his anſwer was, that he hoped all his children would die in the ſame cauſe.

David Morgan, Eſq; aged near fifty years, was of a good family in Monmouthſhire. Having got a liberal education, and being bred to the law, he was in due time called to the bar: but not making a ſhining figure there, he retired into the country, and, after his father's death, lived chiefly on his eſtate. Our author's character of this Gentleman is very extraordinary, and therefore we ſhall give it *verbatim*. *viz.* "Being naturally of a haughty turbulent diſpoſition, his neighbours, tenants and domeſticks, were continually plagued with his ill humours. But to ſum up his character in a few words: He was a moroſe huſband, a tyrannical maſter, a litigious neighbour, an oppreſſive landlord, and a falſe friend. He had pride without the leaſt condeſcenſion, avarice

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avarice without a ſpark of generoſity, illnature without a grain of benevolence. But what his virtues and better qualities were, (if he had any) has not come to our knowledge. If they had, we ſhould gladly have mentioned them; that the world might not run away with an opinion, that Mr. Morgan was the only man who ever lived half a century without doing one good action, and that he died unlamented by friend, neighbour or domeſtick"

It was ſaid; that the priſoners vainly flattered themſelves, that they would be deemed priſoners of war, and exchanged in terms, of the cartel between Britain and France; that therefore, having daily got plenty of the beſt proviſions ſent them, they lived in general, merrily and inconſiderately; that they would not be undeceived till their trials came on; and that after ſentence they kept up their ſpirits to the ſame pitch of gaiety they had done before, being fully perſuaded that they ſuffered in a righteous cauſe. But other accounts ſaid, that, after ſentence, the priſoners were attended by ſeveral eminent divines; that they regreted their miſpent time while in Newgate, occaſioned by vain hopes with which a ſet of viſitants flattered them; and that their deportment was in every way ſuitable to Chriſtians, and Gentlemen in their melancholy circumſtances. And in particular, as to Mr. Blood it was ſaid even in this *Genuine account*, that while in Newgate he behaved with great decency, kept his room much, and never mixed with the noiſy mirth and riotous living of his fellow-priſoners; that he devoted himſelf wholly to the duties of religion, ſeemed to have a deep ſenſe of his paſt follies, repented ſincerely of the part he had acted for the Pretender, and, tho' too late was convinced of his error, and that he ſeemed ſo well prepared for death, as not to change countenance, or appear in the leaſt ſhocked, when the fatal ſentence was pronounced that doomed him to a terrible execution. Notwithſtanding this, the writer of a pamphlet ſaid, that every one of the rebels that ſuffered, threw treaſonable papers among the mob immediately before their execution.——Which tragical

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ſcene

ſcene we now proceed to relate, for moſt part as we had it in the ſame pamphlet.

A friend of Colonel *Townly*'s coming to ſee him after he had received ſentence, ſaid, "I believe, Sir, you deceived yourſelf in imagining you could clear up your own innocence, or invalidate the credit of the King's witneſſes." To which Mr. Townly, with tears in his eyes, replied, "My dear friend, I never thought it would come to this."

Mr. *Fletcher* acknowledged, that he had brought this misfortune upon himſelf by his obſtinacy, for that his mother had begged of him, even on her knees, to keep out of the rebellion; and when no perſuaſions could prevail, ſhe offered him a thouſand pounds to do with as he pleaſed, if he would hearken to her advices. But all to no purpoſe.

Some of Mr. *Blood*'s acquaintance that came to viſit him the night before he ſuffered, flattered him with the hopes of a reprive, for ſome powerful friends, they ſaid, had made interceſſion for him. But he paid little regard to what they ſaid, and anſwered, "That he entertained no ſuch hopes; that he had been long in expectation of death, and was prepared for it, and was not in the leaſt afraid to meet it; for all men muſt die, and he had as lieu die now as a great while hence."

The day before execution, Mr. *Dawſon*'s father came to ſee him, in order to take his final leave of him. But how unutterable was his ſorrow at his meeting him in ſuch a place, and in ſuch a condition! Tears prevent him ſpeaking a word for ſome minutes, and ſighs and broken expreſſions was all that could be heard for a good while. At length, falling on his neck, he was juſt able to ſay, "O my dear child, what would I give were it in my power to ſave thee!"——with other melting expreſſions, which brought tears from the eyes of all that beheld them.——And thus he held him faſt locked in his embrace for ſome time; and when they parted, how did his paſſions ſtruggle in his paternal breaſt! But it is eaſier to imagine, than with words to deſcribe this moving ſcene.

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That night alſo, the father of Mr. *Chadwick* came to take his laſt farewel, and appeared in ſuch deep affliction for the unhappy fate of his ſon, that the young man could not forbear being affected with his tenderneſs, and burſt into tears to ſee his father in ſo much trouble on his account. And this was the more remarkable, as he was always noted for being a man of undaunted reſolution, and that this was the firſt time, ſince his impriſonment, that he had diſcovered any concern about his condition.

Counſellor *Morgan*'s wife alſo came to take her leave of him the ſame night. All the time of his impriſonment, ſhe waited on him with uncommon aſſiduity, and behaved with all the love and tenderneſs becoming an affectionate wife.

The friends and relations of all the reſt paid them their laſt viſit the ſame evening; and abundance of tears and tender expreſſions paſſed on ſo moving an occaſion. However, the priſoners ſeemed hearty and chearful, and deſired their friends to be under no concern for them, for as they ſuffered in a good cauſe, they were ſure of being happy.

A young Gentleman who had often been familiar with them in Newgate, coming to ſee and take his leave of them in the morning they were executed, could not forbear even with tears, expreſſing his extreme concern for their approaching fate. But they, with the greateſt ſeeming unconcern, bid him not grieve for them; for that they were happy, having done nothing that they ſaw cauſe to repent of, and would do the ſame again had they the ſame opportunity.

In the morning of their execution Charles Deacon who had been reprived, went up into his brother's room to take his laſt farewel of him. But tho' he went up with all the courage imaginable, yet the ſight of his brother, and reflecting, at the ſame inſtant that he ſhould immediately be for ever torn from him, was ſuch a ſhock upon him that he had much ado to keep upon his legs, and was forced to be ſupported in coming down ſtairs.

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The ſame morning while they were at breakfaſt, Mr Chadwick ſaid to Mr. Berwick, "Ah! Duke (for that was the name that Berwick went by in the rebel army), our time draws very near; tho' as to my part, I am as hearty as ever I was in my life." Mr. Berwick replied, "As to my part, I think we all look pretty well, and I declare death don't ſhock me in the leaſt. I hope God Almighty will be merciful to us all: for I can lay my hand on my heart, and ſay, that the greateſt injury I ever did, was to myſelf and relations, and tho' I have brought them and myſelf to diſgrace, they have been ſo kind as to forgive me and would have ſaved my life had it been in their power."

The warrant for their execution was not ſent from the Secretary's office till two o'clock in the afternoon preceeding the day of their execution. And when they were informed they muſt die the next day, they ſeemed not at all ſhocked, but rather chearful, only ſaying, *God's will be done.* They went to reſt at the uſual hour, and ſlept ſoundly; but firſt took leave of all their friends.

The next morning they were called up about ſix o'clock, and unlooſed from the floor, to which they had been chained down after the ſentence of death was paſſed upon them. They then ordered coffee to be got ready for their breakfaſt, as ſoon as they were brought down into the yard. And after breakfaſt they had their irons knocked off, in the following order. 1. *Townly*, 2. *Morgan*, 3. *Deacon*, 4. *Dawſon*, 5. *Berwick*, 6. *Fletcher*, 7. *Chadwick*, 8. *Syddall*, 9. *Blood*.

When the halter was put about Syddall, he was obſerved to tremble very much; tho' he endeavoured to conceal his diſorder from the ſpectators, by taking a pinch of ſnuff. As the executionor was faſtening his hands, he lifted up his eyes, and ſaid *O Lord help me.*

Being thus pinioned, the keeper put them into a room backward for a ſhort time, till the ſledges were got ready. They were then put into three ſledges, each drawn by three horſes, and were carried from the goal, about ten o'clock, to Kennington common, in the following

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following order, *viz.* First, a party of dragoons; next a large party of the the foot-guards; then, the three sledges, (in the first of which were, *Townly*, *Blood*, *Berwick*, and the executioner with a drawn scymeter; in the second, *Morgan*, *Deacon* and *Syddall*; and in the third, *Dawson*, *Fletcher* and *Chadwick*), surrounded by the foot-guards; who also brought up the rear. A pile of faggots and a block were placed near the gallows; and while the prisoners were removed from the sledges into a cart drawn under the tree for that purpose, the faggots were set on fire and the guards formed a circle round the place of execution. The prisoners were not attended by any clergyman, either Protestant or Roman Catholick; but Mr. Morgan, with his spectacles on, read prayers and other pious meditations to them out of a book of devotion; to which the rest seemed very attentive, and joined devoutly in all the prayers and ejaculations with a great deal of seriousness. They continued thus above half an hour, and behaved with great resolution, in a manner suitable to their unhappy circumstances, all of them seeming calm and composed, tho' none shed tears. After they had finished their devotions, every one of them took some written papers out of the book which he held in his hand, and threw them, and their prayer-books, among the spectators. The contents of the papers were, That they died in a just cause: that they did not repent of what they had done; that they doubted not but their deaths would be revenged; and several other treasonable expressions. They likewise delivered papers severally to the Sheriff; and then flung away their hats, six of which were laced with gold, all of them having been genteelly dressed. Immediately after, the executioner pulled their caps out of their pockets, put them on, and drew them over their eyes, and then they were turned off. When they had hung about three minutes, the soldiers pulled off their shoes, white stockings, and breeches, and the executioner pulled off the rest of their cloaths. He then cut down the body of Mr. Townly, and laid it on the block. But observing some signs of

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life

life in it, he ſtruck it ſeveral blows on the breaſt; then taking out the bowels and heart, he threw them into the fire, and afterwards, with a cleaver, ſevered the head from the body, and put both into a coffin. He next cut down Mr. Morgan, and afterwards all the reſt; unbowelling and beheading them one by one, in the ſame manner as he did Mr. Townly. When the executioner put the laſt heart, which was Mr. Dawſon's, into the fire, he cried, *God ſave King George!* and the multitude of ſpectators gave a ſhout. The heads and bodies in coffins were conveyed back on the ſledges to the new goal, Southwark, from whence they came, there to remain till the King's pleaſure ſhould be known.——There was preſent the greateſt number of ſpectators ever ſeen together in the memory of man, ſome thouſands of whom had waited in the rain ſeveral hours to ſee the execution of theſe unhappy men. But it was obſerved, that the mob offered no inſults to any of the priſoners that day, tho' they had behaved very rudely to them in paſſing to and from their trials.

Charles Deacon was carried from goal in a coach, guarded by a party of ſoldiers, to ſee the executions.

Extract of a Letter from London, dated July 31. 1746.

"The following account, the truth of which may be depended upon, is an undeniable, tho' melancholy proof, that conſtancy and tenderneſs has not altogether forſook the boſoms of the fair.

A young Lady of a good family and handſome fortune, had, for ſome time, extremely loved, and been equally beloved by Mr. James Dawſon, one of thoſe unhappy Gentlemen who ſuffered at Kenſington common for high treaſon; and, had he been either acquitted, or, after condemnation, found the Royal mercy, the day of his enlargement was to have been that of their marriage.

I will not prolong the narrative, by any repetition of what ſhe ſuffered on ſentence having paſſed upon him. None, excepting thoſe utterly incapable of feeling any ſoft or generous emotions, but may eaſily conceive her

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agonies. Beſides, the ſad cataſtrope will be ſufficient to convince you of their ſincerity.

Not all the perſuaſions of her kindred could prevent her from going to the place of execution;——ſhe was determined to ſee the laſt of a perſon ſo dear to her; and accordinly followed the ſledges in a hackney-coach, accompanied by a Gentleman nearly related to her, and one female friend.——She got near enough to ſee the fire kindled which was to conſume that heart ſhe knew ſo much devoted to her, and all the other dreadful preparations for his fate, without being guilty of any of thoſe extravagancies her friends had apprehended. But when all was over, and ſhe found he was no more, ſhe drew her head back into the coach, and crying out,—— *My dear, I follow thee,——I follow thee;——ſweet Jeſus! receive both our ſouls together!* fell on the neck of her compainon, and expired in the very moment ſhe was ſpeaking.

That exceſs of grief, which the force of her reſolution had kept ſmothered within her breaſt, it was thought, put a ſtop to the vital motion, and ſuffocated, at once, all the animal ſpirits; but I leave the phyſicians to account for that.——I ſhall only ſay, the ſtory very much affected me, as I doubt not but it will you, and all who hear it."

An order of the houſe of Lords dated the 8th of July 1746, was publiſhed in the Gazette of July 12th, ordering the Lords who ſhould attend the trials of the three rebel peers, to attend the houſe on the 24th and 25th, to take the oaths. Weſtminſter hall was fitted up in a magnificent manner, and the Peers got tickets from the Lord Chamberlain, to be given to the perſons that were to get acceſs to their trials.—Mr. George Roſs was appointed ſolicitor for Kilmarnock and Balmerino, and Mr. Adam Gordon, for Cromertie, at their own requeſt.

On Monday the 28th of July, at eight o'clock in the morning the Judges in their robes, with Garter King of Arms, the Uſher of the Black Rod, and the Serjeant at Arms, waited on the Lord High Steward at his houſe in Ormond-ſtreet; Garter in his coat of the King's arms,

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Black-

Black Rod having the white ſtaff, and the Serjeant at Arms his mace. The three laſt waited in an apartment while the Judges went to the Lord High Steward to pay their compliments to his Grace.

After a ſhort ſtay, his Grace came to his coach in the following order.

His Grace's twenty Gentlemen, two and two uncovered.

His Serjeant at Arms and Seal-bearer, both uncovered, one with his mace, and the other with the purſe.

The Black Rod, with the Lord High Steward's ſtaff, and Garter King of Arms on his right hand, in his coat of arms, both uncovered.

His Grace the Lord High Steward, in his rich gown, his train borne, followed by the Chief Juſtices and Judges.

His Grace ſeated himſelf on the hinder ſeat of the coach, ſingly; Garter and the Seal-bearer, on the other ſeat, over againſt his Grace, uncovered; the Black Rod, in the right-hand boot, with his Grace's white ſtaff; and his Grace's Serjeant at Arms, in the left boot, with his mace; his Grace's Gentlmen, in the five leading coaches, and the Judges followed his Grace, in their own coaches.

His Grace, thus attended, paſſed thro' the Red-Lion ſquare, croſs Holborn, down Little and Great Queen-ſtreet, Long-acre, St. Martin's lane, and King-ſtreet, with the Judges, &c. to the Old Palace yard, (where the ſoldiers reſted their muſkets, and the drums beat as to the Royal family), and ſo up the ſtairs to the houſe of Peers, thro' the Painted Chamber.

The Peers in their robes, and the mace depoſited upon the uppermoſt woolſack, his Grace paſſed on to the Lord Chancellor's room. The ſtaff was not brought within the houſe of Peers.

His Grace having ſtaid there a while, came into the houſe again, and prayers began. Then the Peers were called over; Garter or his deputy being allowed to come to the Clerk's table to make a liſt of the Peers preſent. Which done, and the Black Rod being ſent to

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ſee

ſee that the court in Weſtminſter hall, and the paſſages to it, were clear; and giving an account to the houſe that they were ſo, they proceeded towards Weſtminſter hall, thus.

His Grace the Lord High Steward's Gentlemen, attendants, two and two.——Four Clerks of the houſe, two and two.——The two Clerks of the crown, bearing the commiſſion of the Lord High Steward.——Maſters in Chancery, two and two.——Attorney General——Judges.——Peers eldeſt ſons.——Peers minors.——Four Serjeants at Arms, with their maces, two and two.——The Yeoman Uſher of the houſe of Peers——The Peers according to their degrees and precedency, two and two, (the youngeſt Barons firſt), all covered.——Four Serjeants at Arms more, with their maces, two and two.——His Grace's Seal-bearer and Serjeant at Arms.——The Black Rod and Garter.——The Lord High Steward alone, covered, his train borne.

The Lords being ſeated on their benches, and the Judges and Maſters in Chancery below on their ſeats; the Lord High Steward making a reverence to the ſtate, and ſaluting the Peers, ſeated himſelf on the woolſack as Speaker of the houſe of Lords.

The two Clerks of the Crown being ready at the Clerks table, and the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, having the King's commiſſion to the Lord High Steward in his hand, both made three reverences to his Grace and at the third, coming before the woolſack, kneeled down, and the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, on his knee, preſented the commiſſion to his Grace; who delivered it to the Clerk of the Crown in the King's bench; and they, making three reverences, and returning to the Clerks table, the Clerk of the Crown in the King's-bench opened the commiſſion, and read it; having firſt directed his Grace's Serjeant at Arms to make proclamation for ſilence; which he did, with his mace upon his ſhoulder.

While the commiſſion was reading, his Grace and all the Lords ſtood up, all uncovered. After which his Grace, making obeyſance, reſeated himſelf, and then

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Garter

Garter and the Black Rod, with three reverences, jointly presented the white staff on their knees to his Grace. And being fully invested in his office, he with the white staff in his hand, removed from the woolsack to the chair placed for him, on an ascent before the throne, and sat down.

In the time of this procession, the three rebel Lords were brought from the tower; the Earl of Kilmarnock, in Lord Cornwallis's coach, attended by General Williamson, Deputy Governor of the tower; the Earl of Cromertie, in General Williamson's coach, attended by Captain Marshal; and Lord Balmerino, in the third coach, attended by Mr. Fowler, Gentleman Goaler, who had the ax covered by him. They were carried thus to Westminster hall, under a strong guard of soldiers.

The court being met, as above, proclamation was made by the Serjeant at Arms, for the Lieutenant of the tower to return the precept to him directed, with the bodies of the prisoners. Which done the prisoners were brought to the bar, having the ax carried before them by the Gentleman Goaler, the edge turned from them. The reciprocal compliments over between the prisoners and the court, the Lord High Steward, after moving for, and obtaining leave, advanced forward, the better to hear and be heard. Then Kilmarnock's indictment was read, to which his Lordship pleaded Guilty: as was next Cromertie's; and he in like manner pleaded Guilty: both recommending themselves to the King's mercy. Balmerino instead of pleading Guilty or Not guilty, on hearing his indictment read, as the English form, of which his Lordship had no knowledge, requires, asked the Lord High Steward, if it would be of service to him to prove that he was not present at the siege of Carlisle? for that he was ten miles distant at the time specified in the indictment. His Grace answered, That it might, or might not be of service, according to the circumstances: but observed to the Lords, that it was contrary to form, to allow the prisoner to ask any questions before he pleaded; and then desired him to plead. Balme-

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rino having answered, That he was pleading as well as he could, the Lord High Steward explained what was meant by *pleading;* and then his Lordship pleaded Not guilty, Upon which, after hearing the King's council, *viz.* the Attorney and Solicitor General, and Sir John Strange, the court examined five or six witnesses; by whom it was proved, That his Lordship entered Carlisle (tho' not on the day specified in the indictment) at the head of a regiment of horse called by his name *Elphinston*'s horse, with his sword drawn. The prisoners had no council: but Balmerino himself made an exception; which was over-ruled. Then the Lord High Steward asked, If he had any thing further to offer in his defence? To which his Lordship answered that he was sorry he had given the court so much trouble, and had nothing more to say. Hereupon the Lords retired to the house of Peers; where the opinion of the Judges being asked touching the ouvert act, they declared that it was not material, as other facts were proved beyond contradiction: On this they returned to the hall; and the Lord High Steward, asking them one by one, (beginning with the youngest Baron, *My Lord of——, Is Arthur Lord Balmerino guilty of high treason, or not?* was answered by each, clapping his right hand to his left breast, *Guilty, upon my honour, my Lord.* Before the question was put, the Bishops having moved for and obtained leave, withdrew; as is usual in such cases. The prisoners being again called to the bar, and the Lord High Steward having declared to them the resolution of the court, they were sent back to the tower, and notice was given them, if they had any thing to move in arrest of judgement, to be prepared against eleven o'clock of the 30th; to which time the court adjourned. After being found Guilty, the ax was carried with the edge towards them. There were 136 Peers present.

Acordingly the court met at the time appointed; and the prisoners having been brought to the bar, the Lord High Steward made a speech, and then asked each of them, If he had any thing to offer why judgment of death should

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should not pass upon him? In answer to which, the following speeches were made.

The Earl of Kilmarnock's speech.

May it please your Grace, and my Lords,

I Have already, from a due sense of my folly, and the heinousness of those crimes with which I stand charged, confessed myself guilty, and obnoxious to those punishments which the laws of the land have wisely provided for offences of so deep a dye. Nor would I have your Lordships to expect, that what I am now to offer is intended to extenuate those crimes, or palliate my offences. No: I mean only to address myself to your Lordships merciful disposition, to excite so much compassion in your Lordships breasts, as to prevail on his Grace, and this Honourable house, to intercede with his Majesty for his Royal clemency.

Tho' the situation I am now in, and the folly and rashness which has exposed me to this disgrace, cover me with confusion, when I reflect upon the unsullied honour of my ancestors; yet I cannot help mentioning their unshaken fidelity, and steady loyalty to the crown, as a proper subject to excite that compassion which I am now soliciting. My father was an early and steady friend to the revolution, and was very active in promoting every measure that tended to settle and secure the Protestant succession in these kingdoms. He not only in his publick capacity promoted these events, but in his private supported them; and brought me up, and endeavoured to instil into my early years, those revolution-principles which had always been the rule of his actions.

It had been happy for me, my Lords, that I had been always influenced by his precepts, and acted up to his example. Yet I believe, upon the strictest inquiry it will appear, that the whole tenor of my life, from my first entering into the world, to the unhappy minute in which I was seduced to join in this rebellion, has been agreeable to my duty and allegiance, and consistent with the strictest loyalty.

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For the truth of this, I need only appeal to the manner in which I have educated my children; the eldeſt of which has the honour to bear a commiſſion under his Majeſty, and has always behaved like a Gentleman. I brought him up in the true principles of the revolution, and an abhorrence of Popery and arbitrary power. His behaviour is known to many of this Honourable houſe; and therefore I take the liberty to appeal to your Lordſhips, if it is poſſible that my endeavours in his education would have been attended with ſuch ſucceſs, if I had not myſelf been ſincere in thoſe principles, and an enemy to thoſe meaſures which have now involved me and my family in ruin? Had my mind at that time been tainted with diſloyalty and diſaffection, I could not have diſſembled ſo cloſely with my own family, but ſome tincture would have devolved to my children.

I have endeavoured, as much as my capacity or intereſt would admit, to be ſerviceable to the crown on all occaſions: and even at the breaking out of the rebellion, I was ſo far from approving their meaſures, or ſhewing the leaſt proneneſs to promote their unnatural ſcheme, that by my intereſt in Kilmarnock, and places adjacent, I prevented numbers from joining them, and encouraged the country as much as poſſible, to continue firm to their allegiance.

When that unhappy hour arrived in which I became a party, which was not till after the battle of Preſton, I was far from being a perſon of any conſequence amongſt them. I did not buy up any arms, nor raiſe a ſingle man in their ſervice. I endeavoured to moderate their cruelty, and was happily inſtrumental in ſaving the lives of many of his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects, whom they had taken priſoners. I aſſiſted the ſick and wounded, and did all in my power to make their confinement tolerable.

I had not been long with them before I ſaw my error, and reflected with horror on the guilt of ſwerving from my allegiance to the beſt of ſovereigns; the diſhonour which it reflected upon myſelf; and the fatal ruin which it neceſſarily brought upon my family. I then determined to leave them, and ſubmit to his Majeſty's clemency,

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as soon as I should have an opportunity. For this I seperated myself from my corps at the battle of Culloden, and staid to surrender myself a prisoner; tho' I had frequent opportunities, and might have escaped with great ease. For the truth of which, I appeal to the Noble person to whom I surrendered.

But, my Lords, I did not endeavour to make my escape; because the consequences, in an instant, appeared to be more terrible, more shocking, than the most painful or ignominious death. I chose therefore to surrender, and commit myself to the King's mercy, rather than to throw myself into the hands of a foreign power, the natural enemy to my country; with whom to have merit, I must persist in continued acts of violence to my principles, and of treason and rebellion against my King and country.

It is with the utmost abhorrence and detestation I have seen a letter from the French court, presuming to dictate to a British monarch the manner he should deal with his rebellious subjects. I am not so much in love with life, nor so void of a sense of honour, as to expect it upon such an intercession. I depend only upon the merciful intercession of this Honourable house, and the innate clemency of his sacred Majesty.

But if, my Lords, if all I have offered is not a sufficient motive to your Lordships to induce you to employ your interest with his Majesty for his Royal clemency in my behalf, I shall lay down my life with the utmost resignation; and my last moments shall be employed in fervent prayers for the preservation of the illustrious house of Hanover, and the peace and prosperity of Great Britain.

The Earl of Cromertie's speech.

My Lords,

I Have now the misfortune to appear before your Lordships, guilty of an offence of such a nature as justly merits the highest indignation of his Majesty, your Lordships, and the public: and it was from a conviction of my guilt, that I did not presume to trouble your Lordships

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ſhips with any defence. As I have committed treaſon, it is the laſt thing I would attempt to juſtify. My only plea ſhall be your Lordſhips compaſſion, my only refuge his Majeſty's clemency. Under this heavy load of affliction I have ſtill the ſatisfaction, my Lords, of hoping that my paſt conduct before the breaking out of the rebellion was irreproachable, as to my attachment to the preſent happy eſtabliſhment both in church and ſtate: and in evidence of my affection to the government, upon the breaking out of the rebellion, I appeal to the then commander in chief of his Majeſty's forces at Inverneſs, and to the Lord Preſident of the court of Seſſion in Scotland, who I am ſure will do juſtice to my conduct upon that occaſion. But, my Lords, notwithſtanding my determined reſolution in favour of the government, I was unhappily ſeduced from that loyalty, in an unguarded moment, by the arts of deſperate and deſigning men. And it is notorious, my Lords, that no ſooner did I awake from that deluſion, than I felt a remorſe for my departure from my duty; but it was then too late.

Nothing, my Lords, remains, but to throw myſelf, my life, and fortune, upon your Lordſhips compaſſion. But of theſe, my Lords, as to myſelf is the leaſt part of my ſufferings. I have involved an affectionate wife, with an unborn infant, as parties of my guilt, to ſhare its penalties; I have involved my eldeſt ſon, whoſe infancy, and regard to his parents, hurried him down the ſtream of rebellion; I have involved alſo eight innocent children, who muſt feel their parent's puniſhment before they know his guilt. Let them, my Lords, be pledges to his Majeſty; let them be pledges to your Lordſhips; let them be pledges to my country, for mercy; let the ſilent eloquence of their grief and tears; let the powerful language of innocent nature ſupply my want of eloquence and perſuaſion; let me enjoy mercy, but no longer than I deſerve it; and let me no longer enjoy life, than I ſhall uſe it to deface the crime I have been guilty of. Whilſt I thus intercede to his Majeſty, thro'the meditation of your Lordſhips, for mercy, let my remorſe for my guilt as a ſubject; let the ſorrow of my heart as a husband;

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husband; let the anguish of my mind as a father, speak the rest of my misery. As your Lordships are men, feel as men; but may none of you ever suffer the smallest part of my anguish.

But if, after all, my Lords, my safety shall be found inconsistent with that of the publick, and nothing but my life can attone for my unhappy crime; if the sacrifice of my fortune, and family, is judged indispensably necessary for stopping the loud demands of publick justice; and if the bitter cup is not to pass from me; not mine, but thy will, O God, be done.

When the question was put to Balmerino, his Lordship pleaded, that an indictment could not be found in the county of Surrey, for a crime laid to have been committed at Carlisle, in December last; in regard the act ordaining the rebels to be tried in such counties as the King should appoint, which was not passed till March, could not have a retrospect; and desired to be allowed council. On this the Earl of Bath asked, If the Noble Lord at the bar had had any council allowed him? and was answered, that he had never desired any. Balmerino replied, that all the defences that had occured to himself or his solicitor having been laid before a councellor, and by him judged to be trifling, his Lordship did not chuse to give the court needless trouble; and that the above objection had been communicated to him only an hour or two before he was then brought into court. The Duke of Newcastle proposed, that the King's council should be ordered to answer the objection immediately. This having been opposed, the Earl of Granville moved, that they should adjourn to the house of Peers, because they could not debate as a court; which was agreed to. After debate, council was allowed. The Duke of Bedford, and the Earls of Cholmondely, Granville, and Bath, spoke for it. When they were returned to the hall, the Earl of Bath moved, that as the Lord Balmerino would not perhaps ask for any particular persons, the Lord High Steward should be desired to name his council. But this his Grace declined; alledging, that he was but a single judge; and that the only thing peculiar to his office was, to

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preside

preſide, and to pronounce ſentence; having no more power than any other Lord. The court then aſſigned Meſſ. Wilbraham and Forreſter for council to Lord Balmerino; and adjourned till the 1ſt of Auguſt.

The priſoners having been accordingly brought to the bar that day, the two Earls were again aſked, If they had any thing to propoſe why judgment ſhould not paſs againſt them? and anſwered in the negative. Then the Lord High Steward informed Balmerino, that having ſtarted an objection, deſired council, and had their aſſiſtance, he was now to make uſe of it if he thought fit. His Lordſhip anſwered, that his council having ſatisfied him there was nothing in the objection that could do him ſervice, he declined having them heard; that he would not have made the objection if he had not been perſuaded there was ground for it; and that he was ſorry for the trouble he had given his Grace and the Peers. All the priſoners having thus ſubmitted to the court, and relied on the King's mercy, the Lord High Steward made a pathetick ſpeech to them, and concluded with pronouncing ſentence, in theſe words. "The judgment of the law is, and this high court doth award, *That you, William Earl of Kilmarnock, George Earl of Cromartie, and Arthur Lord Balmerino, and every of you, return to the priſon of the tower, from whence you came; from thence you muſt be drawn to the place of execution; when you come there, you muſt be hanged by the neck; but not till you are dead; for you muſt be cut down alive; then your bowels muſt be taken out, and burnt before your faces: then your heads muſt be ſevered from your bodies; and your bodies muſt be divided each into four quarters; and theſe muſt be at the King's diſpoſal.* And God Almighty be merciful to your ſouls!—The Law, as Earl Cowper, Lord High Steward in 1716, obſerved, is deaf to all diſtinctions of perſons; and therefore requires, that, in caſes of high treaſon, the above ſhould be the ſentence, againſt the higheſt, as well as againſt the meaneſt offenders, tho' the moſt ignominious and painful parts of it are uſually remitted, by the grace of the crown, to perſons of quality.

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After ſentence, the priſoners were taken from the bar; and the Lord High Steward, ſtanding up uncovered, broke his ſtaff, and pronounced the commiſſion diſſolved. Then leaving the chair, he ſeated himſelf upon the wool-ſack, and aſked, if it was their Lordſhips pleaſure to adjourn to the houſe of Lords; which being agreed to, they all returned in the order they came down. The Lord Chancellor received the thanks of the houſe, and he was deſired to cauſe print his ſpeech.

Petitions were preſented, in the name of *William late Earl of Kilmarnock*, to the King, the Prince, and the Duke; in which, he endeavoured to alleviate his crime, and to vindicate his character from ſome aſperſions which had been thrown upon it.

Great intereſt was made in behalf of the Earl of Cromertie. His Lady went about, the day after ſentence, with petitions to the Lords of the cabinet-council; and on Sunday, Auguſt 3d ſhe was at Kenſington, in deep mourning; and falling down on her knees to the King as he was going to the chapel, took hold of the hem of his coat, held out a petition, and ſwooned away. His Majeſty raiſed her up with his own hand, took her petition from her, and gave it to the Duke of Grafton, who was behind; deſiring Lady Stair, who accompanied Lady Cromertie, to carry her to an appartment where ſhe might be taken care of. A day or two after, the Dukes of Hamilton and Montroſe, the Earl of Stair, and ſeveral others, interceeded with the King in his behalf, and it was by ſome people expected that both the Earls would be pardoned. As for Balmerino, a letter from London, dated Auguſt 7th, ſaid that he never aſked his life; that, the day after ſentence, hearing that the two Earls had made application for mercy, he ſaid, by way of a ſneer, That as they had ſo great intereſt at court, they might have ſqueez'd his name in with their own; that a Gentleman who went on the 6th to ſpeak to him on buſineſs, excuſing himſelf for intruding on the few hours his Lordſhip had left, Balmerino replied, "No intruſion at all, Sir; for I have done nothing to make my conſcience uneaſy. I ſhall die with a true

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heart, and undaunted; for I think no man fit to live, that is not fit to die; nor am I any ways concerned at what I have done;" and that his Jacobite friends imprudently called this behaviour heroism.——On the 9th the Earl of Cromertie received a pardon or reprieve; on the 11th an order was signed in council, for the execution of the Earl of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino on Tower-hill on Monday the 18th; and on the 12th, two writs passed the great seal, to impower the Lord Cornwallis, Constable of the tower, to deliver their bodies to the Sheriffs of London that day, for execution.

Mr. James Foster, an eminent dissenting clergyman, attended the Earl of Kilmarnock, and published an account of his behaviour after his sentence, and on the day of his execution. According to which, at their first interview, in the evening of the 7th of August, this unhappy Lord was so sensible of the great crime of his rebellion, that he assured Mr. Foster, "That, in the hours of his confinement and solitude, he had felt it lie as a severe and heavy load upon his soul; and particularly upon these two accounts, which were peculiar aggravations of his guilt, that he had been a rebel against his conscience and inward principles, and in violation of his oath solemnly and often repeated." And when in order to take in the whole compass of his guilt, Mr. Foster represented, "That the rebellion was entirely unprovoked and ungrateful, and of consequence most unjust and unnatural; that the King's right to the crown was, even in his Lordship's own opinion, incontestable, and his government had ever been mild and gracious; and that his Lordship, by joining the rebels, had been instrumental in diffusing consternation and terror thro' the land, obstructing commerce, giving a shock to publick credit, in the depradation and ruin of his country, and ought to consider himself as an accessary to innumerable private oppressions, and murders," he himself added, with a sensible concern, *Yea, and murders of the innocent too!*

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But when the consequences of the rebellion were mentioned to him, That by it not only the personal rights of the King and his illustrious house were attacked, but the national happiness was endeavoured to be destroyed, and the hopes of posterity frustrated: and that its natural tendency was to the utter subversion of our excellent free constitution, to extirpate our holy religion, and introduce the monstrous superstitions and cruelties of Popery, and the unbounded mischief of arbitrary power:—" Here (says Mr. Foster) he hesitated, and did not seem to have so clear a conviction as I thought was necessary to render his repentance compleat. He said, he had considered this as a thing possible, or, at most, as a remotely probable consequence: but had not looked upon it as so closely connected with the success of the rebellion, as was generally imagined: That as far as he could learn from all the conversations he had with the Pretender's son, and all the knowledge he could gain of his sentiments, he was not a person that had a real concern for any outward profession of religion; he thought therefore, that, to introduce popery, he would not run the risk of defeating his main design; that the experiences which his pretended family had had of the ill effects of making any violent attack upon the constitution and liberties of this country, would make him cautious and deliberate; or hoped, that the generous invincible spirit of British liberty would render all attempts unsuccessful: for that he himself was never, in the utmost heat of his rebellion, a well-wisher to tyrannical power and popery, which last he could never embrace, without entirely renouncing his understanding as a man."

" To this I answered, (continues Mr. Foster,) That I was sorry to find his Lordship had been imposed upon by such vain and fallacious reasoning; that if what he had said of the son was really true, yet the father, whose spurious claim he came to assert, was, by all accounts, an inflexible bigot to the Romish superstition; that it could not be imagined, but that the young Pretender, also having been chiefly educated at Rome,

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thought himself under the strongest obligations to promote the same cause; that the manifesto he had published was in the same strain with the declaration of King James II. viz. That he intended to allow to *all* his subjects free liberty of conscience; which, the Protestant people of England plainly saw, was intended to open Popish mass-houses, and, under the colour of this indulgence, to bring a swarm of Priests to corrupt and poison the land; that, without doubt, the courts of France and Spain would never have attempted to support this usurpation, without having directly stipulated in favour of Popery, and for the extirpation of the Protestant religion, the great support of British liberty; that if thro' the pusillanimity and consternation of the people, (who by collecting the fiftieth part of their force, were able to have trampled down the rebels under their feet, and to have extinguished every spark of this unnatural conspiracy), they should have come into possession of present power; yet it could not be imagined, but that the King (who was a great prince in virtue of his foreign dominions, and who would be supported by the Protestant states of Europe, and, in all probability, by the house of Austria too, in order to preserve a just balance, and restrain the exorbitant power of France) must make long and vigorous efforts to recover his legal right; that the Pretender's government could therefore never be established, without a French standing army to insult and awe the nation; which would only be granted upon condition of our making a hasty and inglorious peace, betraying the most important and valuable parts of our commerce, and seems to render the sacrifice of our religion and liberties not only highly probable, but absolutely inevitable. This was the substance of our conversations upon this head: in the close of which he declared, That he saw the consequences in a quite different light from what they had ever appeared to him before, and sincerely lamented his having any hand in entailing such evils upon his country. And when I told him, That I supposed he had never allowed himself to enter deeply and seriously into the subject; he said, That, in truth

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truth, he was not very fond of thinking much about it, but rather inclined to flatter and delude himself."

When asked, What could be his motive to engage thus in the rebellion, against his conscience, and in violation of sacred oaths? he answered, That the true root of all, was his careless and dissolute life, by which he had reduced himself to great and perplexing difficulties; that the exigency of his affairs was in particular very pressing at the time of the rebellion; that, besides the general hope he had of mending his fortune by the success of it, he was also tempted by another prospect, of retrieving his circumstances, if he followed the Pretender's standard; and that his love of vanity, and addictedness to impurity and sensual pleasure, had not only brought pollution and guilt upon his soul, but debased his reason, and, for a time, suspended the exercise of his social affections, which were by nature strong in him, and in particular, the love of his country.

"Heavy charges of inhumanity and cruelty, I told him, were spread among the people concerning him; and by many believed. I desired him therefore to be honest and free in clearing his conscience of such a load of most unnatural guilt, by answering to the following interrogations, which included in them the substance of these charges.

Was your Lordship present in the Pretender's council at Inverness, or any other place before the battle of Culloden, where it was proposed to destroy the prisoners taken by the rebels?——*I can most sincerely and freely answer, No.*

Was you ever present in council where this was proposed?——*No.*

Did you ever move such an order?—*No.*

Did you ever sign such an order?——*No.*

Did you every carry an order of this kind to the French General Stapleton? Did you ever in his presence approve of such an order? Did you at any time, hearing it had been communicated to him, encourage and excite him to the execution of it?——To all which he answered in the same manner, *No.*

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Did you ever know, or hear, that such a thing, or an order to give no quarter, was debated, or agreed to, or signed in the rebel-army, till you was taken by the King's forces, and a prisoner at Inverness? Or do you know yourself guilty of any cruelties, by you authorised or committed, against the King's soldiers or subjects taken prisoners by the rebels?——The answer to both these questions was the same as before.

As to what passed in the church of St. Ninian's, he told me he knew nothing at all of it, till, upon the retreat of the rebel-army, he was at some distance from Stirling, where he had been confined to his bed by a fever; that the first notice he had of it, was the noise of blowing up the church; of which he could never get any but an indistinct and confused account; that it was represented by the rebels as accidental: but concerning this, he could certainly say nothing; only, as to himself, he solemnly declared, that he had no knowledge beforehand of any concurence in a designed act of cruelty.

I told him, however, that he was charged with an instance of barbarity to the prisoners confined in the church at Inverness. And the account which he gave of the fact, was as follows. That there were orders issued by the Pretender's son, to strip them of their cloathing, for the use of some of the highland rebels; that the warrant for executing this order was sent to him; that he did not enter the church in person, but committed the execution of it to an inferior officer; that the prisoners, at first, refused to submit; upon which there was a second order, and their cloaths were taken from them: but that, in the mean time, the person stiled the French Ambassador represented to him, that this was an outrage, which he thought scarce justifiable by the law of nations, and the rules of war; he therefore, while the cloaths lay in a heap, with proper centinels over them, in the streets of Inverness, went up to the Pretender's son, and represented the matter in the light in which the French Ambassador had stated it, and according to what were his own sentiments likewise; upon which, as it was feared that such usage might make an

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ill impreſſion upon the minds of the people, the cloaths were again reſtored. And this, he averred to me, was the whole of the truth, as far as it ever fell under his knowledge."

Mr. Foſter ſaid, that this unfortunate Nobleman was of a ſoft, benevolent diſpoſition, always remarkably mild and temparate in his behaviour, and free and ingenious in his confeſſions; and of the laſt, gives, among others, the following unqueſtionable inſtance. "His Lordſhip had been charged, and he imagined without a juſt foundation, with having uttered a falſhood, when he ſaid in his ſpeech at the bar of the houſe of Lords, that, *It was very eaſy for him to have eſcaped.* This he ſtill thought was true upon the rebel army's firſt giving way, as the greateſt part of that body actully did eſcape, with whom he was joined. But after he had ſeperated himſelf from them, and was advanced any conſiderable way towards the King's troops, he believed that his eſcape was not practicable. But tho' he hoped that this would clear him from the imputation of having wilfully prevaricated in the inſtance already mentioned; yet he owned that in another, induced by the love and ſtrong deſire of life, he had groſsly falſified. The caſe, as he repreſented it to me, was thus. He had aſſerted in his ſpeech, That tho' he could have eſcaped, he did not chuſe it, becauſe the conſequences, in an inſtant, appeared more terrible. But the real truth was, That he had no intention at all to ſurrender; and that his only view was, to facilitate his eſcape: for that he thought the body towards which he advanced, were not the King's but Fitzjames's horſe; and that if he could reach them, by mounting behind one of the dragoons, his eſcape would have been more certain, than, as he was then on foot, it appeared to him in his preſent ſituation to be: tho' he did not find his ſtrength or ſpirits in any conſiderable degree impaired. This, he thought, as it related to his inward intention only, could not be diſcovered but by his own confeſſion, nor known to any but God and his own conſcience. But he was willing to unburden his ſoul, and purge it of the moſt ſecret guilt;

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guilt; therefore preſſed it upon me in a particular manner, and eſpecially on the very day before he was executed, not to forget to publiſh to the world this circumſtance; becauſe as he had ſolemnly uttered, before ſo auguſt an aſſembly as the houſe of Lords, a direct and known untruth, he thought, if he ſhould die without a retraction of it, and a publick acknowledgment of his offence, he muſt be conſidered as one who preſumed to appear before the tribunal of God with a lie in his mouth. And here I cannot help thinking myſelf bound, in juſtice to Lady Kilmarnock, to declare, that he ſaid to me, tho' ſhe was bred in different ſentiments, that he thought her now more inclined to Whiggiſh than Jacobite principles. And the Reverend and Hon. Mr. Home, and Mr. Roſs his Lordſhip's ſolicitor, deſired me to inform the world of another thing, which he had expreſsly mentioned to them, *viz.* that inſtead of exciting him to, ſhe had diſſuaded him from entering into the late wicked and horrid rebellion."

On Monday the 11th of Auguſt, General Williamſon deſired me (ſays Mr. Foſter), to let Lord Kilmarnock know, that he had received the order for his and Balmerino's execution.

Lord Kilmarnock received this news with the outward behaviour of a man that knew and felt the importance of the ſcene of death; but without any marks of diſorder, without unbecoming anxiouſneſs or terror. And, to eſtabliſh and ſupport him in his quietude, I told him, That all mankind were really under ſentence of death, tho' they knew not the manner or preciſe time; and that they not having timely and certain notice of it, might die wholly unprepared, while he had warning, and the moſt awakening motives, to fit himſelf, in the beſt manner poſſible, for this grand and deciſive event. He ſaid, That he had never been a libertine in principle, during all the time that he was moſt inconſiderate and licentious in his conduct; that he had always firmly believed the great truths of God's being and providence, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments for virtue and vice; and that he had not been involved in the faſhionable

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shionable scepticism of the times with respect to Christianity; that he was therefore naturally concerned, and chiefly concerned about the consequences of death, in comparison of which he thought the thing itself a trifle; that as to the particular manner of his death, he had no great reason to be terrified, for that stroke appeared to be scarce so much as the pain of drawing a tooth, or the first shock of the cold bath upon a weak and fearful temper.

We come now to take a view of the preparations on Tower-hill. At six o'clock, a troop of life-guards, a troop of horse grenadeer guards, and 1000 of the foot-guards, (being fifteen out of each company), marched from the parade in St. James's park thro' the city to Tower-hill; and there threw themselves into the form of a battledore, the round part inclosing the scaffold, and the handle, formed by two lines, extending to the tower-gate, with a proper space between for the procession to pass. About eight o'clock the Sheriffs of London, their Under-Sheriffs, and their officers, *viz.* six Serjeants at Mace, six Yeomen, and the executioner, met at Mitre tavern in Fenchurch street. Here they breakfasted, and then went to the house formerly the transport office, hired by them for the reception of the Lords before they should be conducted to the scaffold, which was about thirty yards distant from it. At ten o'clock the block was fixed, covered with black cloth, and several sacks of saw-dust were provided, to strew on the scaffold. Soon after, the two coffins were brought covered with black cloth, ornamented with gilt nails, *&c.* On Kilmarnock's there was a plate, with this inscription, GULIELMUS COMES DE KILMARNOCK DECOLLATUS 18 AUGUSTI 1746 ÆTAT. SUÆ 42, with an Earl's coronet over it, and six coronets over the six handles; and on Balmerino's there was a plate with this inscription, ARTHURUS DOMINUS DE BALMERINO DECOLLATUS 18 AUGUSTI 1746 ÆTAT. SUÆ 58, with a Baron's coronet over it, and six others over the six handles.

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About a quarter after ten, the Sheriffs went in proceſſion to the tower; and after knocking ſome time at the gate a Warder within aſked, *Who's there?* The officer anſwered, *The Sheriffs of London and Middleſex.* The Warder then aſked, *What do they want?* The officer anſwered, *The bodies of William Earl of Kilmarnock and Arthur Lord Balmerino.* Upon which the Warder ſaid, *I will go and inform the Lieutenant of the tower* ——Mr. Foſter tells, that when General Williamſon informed Kilmarnock, That the Sheriffs waited for the priſoners, his Lordſhip was not in the leaſt ſtartled, but ſaid, (calmly and gracefully), *General, I am ready; I'll follow you;*" and adds, that, "at the foot of the firſt ſtairs he met and embraced Lord Balmerino; who greatly ſaid to him, *My Lord, I am heartily ſorry to have your company in this expedition.*"——In about ten minutes after the Warder had gone to give notice of the demand made by the Sheriffs, the Deputy-Lieutenant of the tower with the Earl of Kilmarnock, and Major White with Lord Balmerino, guarded by ſeveral Warders, came to the gate; where the priſoners were delivered to the Sherriffs; who gave proper receipts for their bodies to the Deputy-Lieutenants. As they were going out of the tower, the Deputy-Lieutenant, as was uſual, ſaid, *God bleſs King George.* On which Kilmarnock made a bow, and Balmerino ſaid, *God bleſs King James.* The proceſſion moved in a ſlow and ſolemn manner, in the following order. 1. The Conſtable of the Tower-hamlets. 2. The Knight-Marſhal's men and Tipſtaves. 3. The Sheriffs officers. 4. The Sheriffs, the priſoners, and their chaplains; Mr. Sheriff Blachford walking with Kilmarnock, who was attended by Mr. Foſter and Mr. Home; and Mr. Sheriff Cockayne walking with Balmerino, who was attended by the chaplain of the tower and another Miniſter. 5. The Tower Warders. 6. A guard of muſketeers. 7. Two hearſes, and a mourning-coach. When the proceſſion had paſſed thro' the lines into the area of the circle, the paſſage was cloſed, and the troops of horſe, who were in the rear of the foot on the lines, wheeled off, and drew

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drew up five deep behind the foot, on the South-side of the hill, facing the scaffold.

The two Lords were conducted into separate apartments in the house above mentioned, facing the steps of the scaffold; and their friends were admitted to see them. That house, and the rails round the scaffold, and on each side of the passage leading to it from the house, were all hung with black at the Sheriffs expence.

About eleven o'clock, Kilmarnock received a message from Balmerino, desiring an interview with his Lordship, which being consented to, Balmerino was introduced into Kilmarnock's apartment. Mr. Foster related the whole substance of that conversation, as he could recollect, in the very words, thus.

"*B.* My Lord, I beg leave to ask your Lordship one question.

K. To any question, my Lord, that you shall now think proper to ask, I believe I shall see no reason to decline giving an answer.

B. Why then my Lord, did you ever see or know of any order, signed by the Prince, (meaning the Pretender's Son), to give no quarter at the battle of Culloden?

K. No, my Lord.

B. Nor I neither: and therefore it seems to be an invention to justify their own murder, or murderous scheme. (One of the two expressions, I am certain, was made use of).

K. No, my Lord, I do not think that this inference can be drawn from it; because, while I was a prisoner at Inverness, I was informed by several officers, that there was such an order, signed George Murray; and that it was in the Duke's custody.

Lord George Murray! replied Lord Balmerino; why, then, they should not charge it upon the Prince. After this he took his leave, embracing Lord Kilmarnock with the same kind of a noble and generous compliment as he had used before, but in words somewhat different: *My dear Lord Kilmarnock, I am only sorry that I can-*

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not pay all this reckoning alone. Once more farewel for ever."

" I then desired Lord Kilmarnock, (continued Mr. Foster), that he would allow me to declare in his name to the Sheriffs and all persons present, the substance of the professions and acknowledgments which he had so often repeated to me; and which were more largely contained in a paper that he had left to be published after his death: and my declaration was in words to this effect. Lord Kilmarnock acknowledges King George to be the only rightful and lawful King of these realms; that he engaged in the late wicked and unnatural rebellion against his conscience; he confesses the great guilt of it with deep shame and contrition, and asks pardon for his offence, of God, his King, and country; and declares it to be his sincere resoultion to pray for the prosperity of King George, the establishment of his Royal house, and the peace and welfare of his country, with his dying breath. To this the unfortunate Lord gave his assent, and signified to the Sheriffs, that the only genuine paper that he left behind him, was lodged with me, and committed to my care. The time being then pretty far advanced, (as I hinted to his Lordship by the Sheriffs desire), I told him, that after having taken a few minutes to compose himself, I thought it would be proper to allow me to pray with him, and then proceed to the scaffold. After this I addressed myself to the spectators of this mournful scene, to join with me fervently in this last solemn office, and in recommending the soul of an unhappy person, who gave so many lively marks of his sincere penitence for the crime of his rebellion, to the mercy of God; with which request they all readily complied.

After prayer was ended, Lord Kilmarnock took his last farewel of the Gentlemen that attended him, in a very affectionate manner; and went out of the room, preceeded by the Sheriffs, and accompanied by his friends. And I am informed by Mr. Home, that as he was stepping into the scaffold, notwithstanding the great pains he had taken

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taken to familiarise the outward *apparatus* of death to his mind, nature ſtill recurred upon him: ſo that being ſtruck with ſuch a variety of dreadful objects at once, the multitude, the block, his coffin, the executioner, the inſtrument of death, he turned about, and ſaid, *Home, this is terrible.* This expreſſion ſo ſuitable to the awful occaſion, muſt, to all who know the human heart, appear to be nothing elſe than the language of nature; and was far from being a mark of unmanly fear, being pronounced with a ſteddy countenance, and firmneſs of voice, indications of a mind unbroken and not diſconcerted. His whole behaviour was ſo humble and reſigned, that not only his friends, but every ſpectator, was deeply moved; even the executioner burſt into tears, and was obliged to uſe artificial ſpirits to ſtrengthen him. After having talked with his Lordſhip a conſiderable time, to ſupport him in his penitence and reſignation, I embraced, and left him in the ſame calm diſpoſition, having quitted the ſcaffold ſome minutes before his execution. And as to his behaviour afterwards, I refer to the following account, which was communicated to me by Mr. Jamieſon who attended him to the laſt.

Spectators at a diſtance, not knowing the true cauſe why the ſtroke was retarded for ſome minutes longer than they expected, aſcribed it to puſillanimity: but, in reality, the delay was owing to a few trivial circumſtances, which might have been omitted, had it not been neceſſary to mention them, in order to vindicate the behaviour of that Noble penitent, which was uniformly conducted by the rules of juſt decorum, from all imputation of unmanly fear in the critical moment.——My Lord's hair having been dreſſed in a bag, it took ſome time to undo it, and put it up in his cap, (which was made of a damaſk napkin). The tucking his ſhirt under the waiſtcoat, that it might not obſtruct the blow, was the occaſion of ſome further ſmall delay. But as ſoon as theſe preliminaries were adjuſted, his Lordſhip gave the executioner notice what would be the ſignal, (dropping a handkerchief), took out a paper containing the

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heads of his devotion, went forward to his laſt ſtage, and decently knelt down at the block Whether it was to ſupport himſelf, or as a more convenient poſture for devotion, he happened to lay his hands with his head upon the block; which the executioner obſerving, prayed his Lordſhip to let his hands fall down leſt they ſhould be mangled, or break the blow. Then he was told that the neck of his waiſtcoat was in the way; upon which he roſe up, and with the help of one of his friends (Mr. Walkinſhaw of Scotſton) had it taken off. This done, and the neck made bare to the ſhoulder, he again knelt down as before, and what ſufficiently ſhews, that he enjoyed full preſence of mind to the laſt, Mr. Home's ſervant, who held the cloth to receive the head, heard him direct the executioner, that in two minutes he would give the ſignal. That dreadful interval, to his friends, who were then upon the rack, appeared much longer; but thoſe who meaſured, found it juſt about two minutes. This time he ſpent in moſt fervent devotion; as appeared by the motion of his hands, and now and then of his head. Having then fixed his neck on the block, he gave the ſignal. His body remained without the leaſt motion, except what was given it by the ſtroke of death; which he received full, and was thereby happily eaſed at once of all his pain."

It was near twelve o'clock when the Earl of Kilmarnock came upon the ſcaffold. His Lordſhip was dreſſed in black, and there was a cuſhion at the block, on which he knelt down. The black bays which hung round the rails of the ſcaffold, were turned up, that the people might ſee all the circumſtances of the executions. One blow ſevered the head from the body, except a ſmall bit of ſkin; which being immediately cut by a gentle ſtroke, the head dropt into a piece of red bays, held up by four perſons to receive it; and was, with the body, depoſited in the coffin, delivered to his friends, and put into the hearſe. The ſcaffold was then cleaned of the blood, freſh ſaw-duſt ſtrewed, and, that no appearance of a former execution might remain, the executioner, who was dreſſed

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dreſſed in white, changed ſuch of his cloaths as were bloody.

An account of the behaviour of theſe two Lords was publiſhed by authority of the Sheriffs, Auguſt 26. three days before Mr. Foſter's, as taken down by Mr. Ford, who officiated for one of the two Under-Sheriffs at the execution. As to Kilmarnock, we need add only the ſubſtance of what is ſaid by Mr. Ford, *viz.* That his Lordſhip ſeemed truly ſenſible of his guilt, and ſhewed the utmoſt ſigns of a ſincere repentance; that he declared himſelf a Proteſtant, and thoroughly ſatisfied with the legality of King George's title to the throne; that he refreſhed himſelf twice with a bit of bread and a glaſs of wine; that upon Balmerino's wiſhing he could ſuffer for both, he replied, it was exceedingly kind and generous in his Lordſhip; that when he aſcended the ſcaffold, it was eaſily to be obſerved what impreſſion his graceful deportment made upon the ſpectators; that he gave the executioner a purſe of gold (five guineas), and deſired him to have courage; and that a Gentleman, when adjuſting his cap before he knelt down at the block, having wiſhed the continuance of his reſolution till he ſhould meet with eternal happineſs, his Lordſhip thanked him, and with great tranquillity added, that he found himſelf perfectly eaſy and reſigned.

We now give an account of Balmerino's behaviour, as related by Mr. Ford.

'When the ſcaffold was put in order, the Under-Sheriff that attended the firſt execution, went to Balmerino's appartments, as a notice to his Lordſhip that his time was come. Upon whoſe entrance, Balmerino ſaid, *I ſuppoſe my Lord Kilmarnock is no more;* and having aſked how the executioner had performed his duty, ſaid, upon receiving the account, *Then it was well done. And now, Gentlemen, I will detain you no longer: for I deſire not to protract my life.* His Lordſhip then ſaluted the company, in a manner ſo chearful, as drew tears from every eye but his own, and haſtened to the ſcaffold.

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But before we view his Lordſhip upon the ſcaffold, it is but juſt to the memory of that great, but unhappy man, to acquaint the publick what was his deportment in his retirement here. It was graceful without affectation, chearful but not preſumptuous; he converſed freely with his friends, twice refreſhed himſelf with a bit of bread and a glaſs of wine, and deſired the company to drink to him *ain degrae ta haiven*, but, above all, he called frequently upon God, and ſeemed both willing and prepared to die.

When his Lordſhip mounted the ſcaffold, he did it with ſo undaunted a ſtep as ſurpriſed every ſpectator that was unacquainted with the greatneſs of his ſoul. He appeared there in the very ſame regimentals he wore at the battle of Culloden, (a blue coat turned up with red, with braſs buttons, and a tie wig). And ſo far was he from having the leaſt concern himſelf at the approach of death, that he frequently reproved his friends that were about him for ſhewing any. He walked round the ſcaffold, bowed to the people, (called up the Warder, and gave him ſome money; aſked which was his hearſe, and ordered the man to drive near), read the inſcription on his coffin, ſaid it was right, and with ſeeming pleaſure looked at the block, which he called his *pillow of reſt*.

His Lordſhip then took a paper out of his pocket; which (having put on his ſpectacles) he read to the few about him, and delivered to the Sheriff to do with it as he ſhould think proper.

Whatever may be offered in excuſe for his Lordſhip's making that ſpeech in his laſt moments, nothing but the higheſt authority can juſtify the publiſhing it.

His Lordſhip to the laſt profeſſed his entire ignorance as to the order for giving no quarter to the Duke's army; and added, *that he would not (knowingly) have acted under ſuch order, becauſe he looked upon it as unmilitary, and beneath the character of a ſoldier.*

Nor it is to be here omitted, that tho' his Lordſhip, from his unhappy political principles, diſowned any allegiance to his Majeſty; yet he, from his moral ones, acknowledged

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knowledged him to be a prince of the greatest magnanimity and mercy.

His Lordship then called for the executioner; who being introduced to him, was about to ask forgiveness. But my Lord stopt him, and said, *Friend, you need not ask me forgiveness; the execution of your duty is commendable.* His Lordship then presenting the executioner with three guineas, said, *Friend, I never had much money; this is all I have; I wish it was more for your sake; and am sorry I can add nothing else to it, but my coat and waistcoat;* which his Lordship instantly took off, and placed on his coffin for the executioner.

His Lordship then prepared himself for the block, by putting on a flannel waistcoat that had been made for the occasion, and a plaid cap upon his head, (saying, he died a Scotsman). After which he went to the block, in order to shew the executioner the signal for the blow; which was, the dropping down of his arms.

His Lordship then returning to his friends, took his last farewel of them; and having once more taken a view of the great number of spectators, he said, *I am afraid there are some who may think my behaviour bold;* and, speaking to a Gentleman near him, added, *Remember, Sir, what I tell you; it arises from a confidence in God, and a clear conscience.*

His Lordship then observing the executioner with the ax in his hand, took it from him, and having felt the edge, returned it him again; at the same time shewing him where to strike the blow, and animating him to do it with resolution; *for in that, Friend,* (said his Lordship) *will consist your mercy.*

His Lordship then, with the same surprising countenance, knelt down at the block, and having with his arms extended said this short prayer, *O Lord, reward my friends, forgive my enemies,* * * * * * * * * *, *and receive my soul,* submitted, and gave the signal to the executioner. And I wish I could conclude, that his head had been taken off at one blow: but the executioner was so terrified at his Lordship's intrepidity, and the suddenness of the signal, that notwithstanding he struck in-

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the part directed, yet the force of the blow was not sufficient to sever the head from the body, tho' (happily) sufficient to deprive him of all sensation. After the first blow, his Lordship's, head fell back upon his shoulders; but being afterwards severed at two more gentle blows, was then received into a piece of red bays, and, with his body, deposited in his coffin, and delivered to his friends."

The bodies having been carried to the tower in two hearses were interred in the evening, agreeably to their own request, close to the Marquis of Tullibardine's, in St. Peter's church.

According to other accounts, the first blow struck Lord Balmerino partly on his shoulders, the second went about two thirds thro' his neck, on which the body fell down; and being immediately raised, a third severed the head from the body.

As Mr. Ford's is the only authentick account of this Lord's behaviour, we know little of what passed between his Lordship and the divines that attended him while under sentence; only it appears that Lord Kilmarnock knew of his perseverance in his mistaken principles. Some newswriters give hive him the following character. "If we were to draw the character of Arthur Lord Balmerino, abstracting from the consideration of his being an enemy to the present happy government, we should call him a blunt resolute man, who would, if his principles had not been tainted with Jacobitism, have appeared honest in the eyes of those who love sincerity; but he was not so happy as to be loyal. His person was very plain, his shape clumsy, but his make strong, and he had no marks about him of the polite Gentleman; tho' his seeming sincerity recompensed all those defects. He was illiterate in respect to his birth, but rather from a total want of application to letters then want of ability. When he came upon the scaffold, tho' he behaved with what some may account a blameable intrepidity, yet it was not with indecency, or any shew of prophaneness or irreligion."

The author of *Observations* on the two accounts, gives the following characters of the Lords and their historians.

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"I cannot help thinking, that these accounts very much resemble the Lords who suffered. The first of them is hasty, vehement and full of fire, like its hero, the Lord Balmerino; the second is calm, gentle and full of moderation, like its subject, the Earl of Kilmarnock: and if those unfortunate Noblemen may be allowed to have been lucky in any accident whatever, attending so melancholy a catastrophe as theirs, I think it was in having two such historians to commemorate their dying behaviour, as the zealous F—d, and the accurate Mr. F—r. —Both their deaths were consistent enough with their characters, tho' opposite to each other; as indeed their characters were. But, of the two, surely the Earl of Kilmarnock had the hardest and most difficult task. His temper was susceptible of more tenderness; his crime was the effect of a sudden gust of temporary views, of which he was ashamed long before he was in danger; he trembled amidst the inconsiderable advantages gained by the rebels, and was all along under this dreadful and affecting conviction, that his own safety and that of his country were incompatible. These wounds in his conscience, and a very rational, perhaps salutary diffidence in his repentance, made death not only serious, but dreadful to him: yet he faced it. The roughness of Balmerino's nature prevented his feeling, and his military course of life had reconciled him to the sight of death. There remained therefore nothing here that could fright him. As to hereafter, the prejudices of education set him at ease. To him neither the thing nor the circumstances were terrible: momentary pain seemed a small price to pay for eternal rest. Upon these different motives, both (to the eyes of men) died well. Kilmarnock received Death as a stranger with whom he would willingly have deferred his acquaintance; but Balmerino met him as a friend, whom having long expected, he was glad to see. As philosophers we may be allowed to regard things in this light; as good subjects we are bound to approve that justice which guards our safety; as men and Christians we ought to have compassion, and may well think

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think ourſelves free to pity the frailty of the one, and wonder at the obſtinacy of the other."

Lord Kilmarnock was married to Lady Anne Livingſton, daughter and heireſs of James Earl of Linlithgow and Callender, who was attainted in 1716, and died abroad. Her Ladyſhip was likewiſe preſumptive heireſs of the Earldom of Errol. There is iſſue of the marriage; Lord Boyd, the eldeſt, who was a ſubaltern in the Scots fuſileers at the battle of Culloden, and is ſince promoted; Charles, the ſecond, who was likewiſe in that battle, but on the other ſide, with his father, and made his eſcape; and a third ſon, who was at ſea, with Commodore Barnet.

Arthur Lord Balmerino never enjoyed the eſtate, it having devolved to him only in the beginning of January 1746, by the death of his brother. In 1715 he was a Captain in Shannon's foot, and went over to the rebels, after the battle of Sheriffmuir. After that rebellion, he lived abroad till about the year 1734; when having got a pardon, he returned home, and has lived ſince in a private manner. The report of his having been pardoned for a duel, is a miſtake: it was a brother of his. Lady Balmerino went to London ſoon after her Lord, and waited upon him in the tower. His Lordſhip left no iſſue.

The caſe of Charles Ratcliffe, Eſq;

THIS Gentleman was brother to the late Earl of Dernwentwater, was convicted of high treaſon for the rebellion in 1715, but eſcaped out of Newgate. He was re-taken in Nov. 1745, on board the Eſperance, with ſeveral other French officers, coming to Scotland; and committed priſoner in the tower of London. On the 21ſt of November 1746 he was brought to the King's bench bar, and his former judgment was read to him. He ſaid he was quite unprepared; and at his requeſt the court aſſigned him council, Meſſ. Joddrell and Ford. On the 24th he was again brought to the bar. But he refuſed to hold up his hand, or acknowledge any juriſdiction, but that of the King of France, in whoſe dominions he had lived about thirty years, and whoſe commiſſion he had in his pocket; for the authenticity of which

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which he appealed to the Sicilian Ambaſſador, in court. On hearing his former indictment and conviction read, he ſaid he was not *Charles Ratcliffe*, but *the Earl of Derwentwater;* and his council informed the court, that this was the plea he relied on. Mr. Attorney-General replied with an averment of his being the Charles Ratcliffe named in the former indictment, *&c.;* and thereupon iſſue was joined. Then the council for the priſoner moved to put off his trial, upon his own affidavit (to which he had ſubſcribed himſelf *The Count of Derwentwater*) that two of his material witneſſes were abroad. To which affidavit the council for the crown objected, as not being entitled in the cauſe before the court, nor the witneſſes ſworn to be material in the iſſue then joined; and alſo becauſe the priſoner had not undertaken to ſwear that he was not the perſon, which, as it was a fact entirely in his own knowledge, ought to be required of him, if he would intitle himſelf to this favour from the court; this being a proceeding very different from the trial upon a Not guilty in an original proſecution, the identity of the perſon being the ſingle fact to be inquired of, and a caſe in which the crown had a right by law to proceed in *inſtanter*. Upon this, the priſoner amended his affidavit as to the witneſſes, but refuſed to ſwear that he was not the ſame perſon. And the court ſaid, there was no inſtance of any application to put off the trial of a queſtion of this ſort before; and that this was like an inqueſt of office, in order to inform the conſcience of the court, and what the publick had a right to proceed in *inſtanter:* and therefore that the priſoner ought to give all reaſonable ſatisfaction to induce them to grant ſuch a favour as he deſired; for that they could not in conſcience, and juſtice to the publick indulge him, without a reaſonable ſatisfaction that his plea was true. But the priſoner ſtill refuſing to ſwear to the truth of his plea, the jury were called; and after two or three of the pannel were ſworn, Mr. Ratcliffe challenged the next that was called, as of right without aſſigning any reaſon. But upon debate of the queſtion, How far he had right to challenge? the court

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court said, it had been determined before in all the later cases, and particularly in the case of one Jordan, that the prisoner in such a case as this had no peremptory challenge. Upon which the rest of the jury were sworn. Several witnesses were called to prove the prisoner the identical person Charles Ratcliffe, who received sentence in 1716. But none of them could come up to the point, till a great officer was sworn, who deposed, that Mr. Ratcliffe, since his confinement in the tower, had acknowledged to him, when they had been drinking a glass of wine together, that he was the same person. But Mr. Ratcliffe objected to this Gentleman's testimony; because he had confessed that he believed there was neither God nor devil; and it would be an absurdity, to swear a man upon the Bible, who had no faith in any thing it contained. This however was over-ruled; and no other defence being made, the jury withdrew, and in about ten minutes brought in their verdict. That he was the same Charles Ratcliffe that was convicted of treason in 1716. Then the Attorney-General moved to have execution awarded against the pannel on his former judgment. To which the prisoner's council objected, tendering a plea of pardon by act of parliament, in bar of execution. But the court said, as he had already pleaded such a plea as he chose to rely on, and as that was found against him, nothing more remained for them to do at that time, but to award execution; and if his council had any thing to offer on his behalf, they would have time to do it before the day of execution. Then they ordered a rule to be made for the proper writs for his execution on December 8th and remanded the prisoner to the tower. It was said, that he refused to call the Chief Justice *Lord*, because the title of *Earl* was not given to him; that, upon refusing to hold up his hand at the bar, the Attorney-General told him, that as a Gentleman he ought to comply, and his council would satisfy him, it was only a form of the court; that he answered, *I know many things that I will not advise my council upon;* and that, on hearing the day appointed for his execution, he told the court, that he wished

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wiſhed they had given him ſo long time as that he could have wrote to France, that ſo his brother the Earl of Morton and he might have ſet out on their journey together.

Accordingly he was beheaded on Tower-hill December 8.——About eight o'clock in the morning, two troops of life-guards, and one troop of horſe grenadeer-guards marched thro' the city to little Tower hill, where they were joined by a battalion of foot guards. The horſe lined the way from the ſcaffold to Iron-gate, and the foot with ſome of the horſe incompaſſed the ſcaffold. About ten, the block, covered with black, with a cuſhion, and two ſacks full of ſaw duſt, were brought up, and the block fixed. Soon after, the coffin was placed on the ſcaffold. It was covered with black velvet; the inſide lead, lined with white ſattin; and had eight handles, which with the nails were gilt with gold; but there was no plate or inſcription upon it. A little before eleven, the Sheriffs, Meſſ. Alderman Winterbottom and Alſop, came to ſee if the ſcaffold, *&c.* was finiſhed, (the carpenters, *&c.* who had very ſhort notice, having worked all Sunday and the enſuing night), and found it to their ſaisfaction. The Sheriffs and the Under-Sheriffs had met at the Mitre tavern in Fenchurch ſtreet, and from thence proceeded, the Under-Sheriffs in a mourning-coach, and the Sheriffs in their chariots, to the lower end of the Minories; where they were met by their officers; who marched before them till they came over againſt the Victualling-office. Here they ſtopt, and the Under Sheriffs went down to the Eaſt-gate of the tower, which is next to the Iorngate; where getting out of the coach they went up to the gate; and ſeeing the warders thro' the gate, they demanded admittance to the Lieutenant-Governor. On this the gate being opened they went in, and demanded Mr. Ratcliffe's body of General Williamſon. Upon being ſurrendered, he was put into a landau, and carried out at the Eaſt-gate; where the Under-Sheriffs went again into their coach, and the proceſſion was as follows. Firſt, the Sheriffs officers; next the mourning-coach in which

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were the two Under-Sheriffs with their wands; then the landau with the prisoner, and the officers of the tower who had him in custody; and the landau guarded by a party of foot guards with their bayonets fixed. Thus they proceeded up Little Tower-hill, till they came over-against the victualling-office, where the Sheriffs waited to receive him. Here the prisoner being taken out of the landau, in order to be put into a mourning-coach, and seeing some Gentlemen he knew, he paid his compliments to them in a very genteel manner, and smiled. He was carried, in the mourning-coach, about a hundred yards further, to a small booth built on purpose, and hung with black, joining to the stairs of the scaffold. Having reposed himself here about half an hour, which he spent in his devotions, speaking but very little to any body, he then came upon the scaffold, preceeded by the Sheriffs, the divine, and some Gentlemen his friends. He was dressed in scarlet, faced with black velvet, trimmed with gold, a gold-laced waistcoat, white silk stockings, and a white feather in his hat. On the scaffold he took leave of his friends with great serenity and calmness of mind, and, after speaking a few words, and giving a parcel of gold which he called ten guineas, to the executioner, knelt down to prayers, all the company on the scaffold kneeling with him. When prayers were ended, which lasted about seven minutes, he took off his hat and wig, put on a damask cap, pulled off his coat and waistcoat, assisted by the tower-warders, put his head to the block, and rose up again. He then took his leave in a respectful manner of the Sheriffs, had the collar of his shirt tucked down said a short prayer, crossing himself several times, and laid his head down upon the block. In about two minutes he spread his hands, which was the signal, and the executioner struck off his head at three blows. The first cut all except a bit of the skin, which was cut at two strokes more. Four undertaker-men stood ready with a piece of red bays, to receive the head; and the body fell down. He behaved with the greatest fortitude, and coolness of temper.

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per. On ſearching his pockets, the executioner found half a guinea, a ſilver crucifix, and his beads. Inſtead of ten guineas, he had got eleven and a half out of Mr. Ratcliffe's hand. The corpſe, head and body, was put into the coffin, taken away in a hearſe, and kept till the 11th; when between 11 and 12 at night, it was carried in a hearſe, attended by two mourning coaches, to St. Giles's in the Fields, and there interred, according to his deſire, near the remains of the late Earl of Derwentwater. The following inſcription was put upon his coffin: CAROLUS RATCLIFFE, COMES DE DERWENTWATER, DECOLLATUS DIE 8. DECEMBRIS 1746. ÆTATIS 53. REQUIESCAT IN PACE.

This unfortunate Gentleman was brother to James Earl of Derwentwater, beheaded on Tower hill February 24. 1715-16, both Sons of Sir Robert Ratcliffe by Lady Mary Tudor, natural Daughter of King Charles II, by Mrs. Mary Davis. Charles having likewiſe been in the rebellion in 1715, was arraigned at the Exchequer-bar, Weſtminſter, May 8. 1716, for high treaſon, found guilty May 18. and condemned, But, after being ſeveral times reſpited, he made his eſcape out of Newgate on the 11th of December following, and got over to France; where he ſpent the greateſt part of his time after, tho' he was ſome part of it with the Pretender in Italy. At Paris he married Lady Newburgh, relict of Livingſton Lord Newburgh a Scots Nobleman; by whom he has left a ſon, who was taken priſoner with him, and was at firſt thought to be the Pretender's ſecond ſon; but returned afterwards to France, upon parole. It was ſaid, that, in 1733 and 1735, Mr. Ratcliffe was ſeveral months in London, without being taken any notice of, tho' the miniſtry knew of it.

The carpenters having worked on Sunday in erecting the ſcaffold, *&c.* gave occaſion to the following letter, ſigned CHRISTIANUS. " I find, in *Numbers*, xv. 32. —37. a man ſtoned to death by God's own appointment for gathering ſticks on the ſabbath day; and I thought the moral law had been of eternal obligation; and therefore am ſcandalized at this unneceſſary working on a

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Sunday. Pray reſolve me, if you can, which is the greater ſin, to let a condemned rebel live a day or two longer, or to break the ſabbath? or what could be the meaning of this practice, unleſs ſome people had a mind to convince the world, (which was quite needleſs), that they never do any thing, but in a hurry, and without deliberation?"

We ſhall now give an account of the iſſue of the moſt remarkable of the other trials.

On the 31ſt of July, 1746 the court met at St. Margaret's hill for the trial of the Scots rebel-officers taken at Carliſle, when the following perſons were tried, *viz.* James Nicolſon maſter of a Coffee-houſe in Leith, a Lieutenant in Perth's regiment, Donald Macdonald of Inverneſsſhire a Captain in Keppoch's regiment, Alexander Mackgrouther ſenior of Perthſhire a Lieutenant in Perth's regiment, James Straton, Surgeon of the garriſon of Carliſle, and Walter Ogilvie of Banffſhire a Lieutenant in Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment. The two firſt pleaded Guilty, Alexander Mackgrouther was tried and found guilty, James Straton was acquitted, and Walter Ogilvy pleaded Guilty.——Then the Lord Chief Juſtice Willes, having made a pathetic ſpeech, pronounced ſentence as p. 292 on James Nicolſon, Donald Mackdonald. Alexander Mackgrouther ſenior, and Walter Ogilvy. The court then adjourned till the 23d of Auguſt.

On the 19th of Auguſt the dead warrant came to the goal, for their execution the 22d.: but Mackgrouther got a reprive for three weeks on the 21ſt: the other three were executed on Kennington common in the ſame manner as the other nine p. 300

Auguſt 23. The grand Jury found bills againſt Sir John Wedderburn, a voluntier in Ogilvy's regiment, (or the life-guards), Collector of Exciſe for the Pretender; Lieutenant Colonel Sir James Kinloch, Major Nicolas Glaſcoe, (who raiſed the battery againſt the Hazard ſloop, and took her), Captains Alexander and Charles Kinlochs, brothers to Sir James, and Enſign Thomas Watſon, all of Ogilvy's ſecond battalion; Colonel Francis Farquarſon; Colonel Henry Ker of Gradyne,

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Aid de camp to the Pretender; Majors Alexander Maclauchlan and James Rattary, of Tullibardine's regiment; Major James Stewart, of Perth's; Captain John Farquharſon, of Farquharſon's; Captain Andrew Wood of Roy Stewart's; Captain Allan Cameron, of Lochiel's, Enſign James Lindſay, ſhoemaker in Perth, of Strathallan's, James Bradſhaw, firſt a Captain in the Manchester regiment, and afterwards a life-guard man; Captains Roderick Maculloch, of Glaſtulich, and Colin Mackenzie, Lieutenant Rodrick Mackenzie, and Enſign Hector Mackenzie, all of Cromertie's regiment; John Mackenzie, commonly called Lord Macleod, the Earl of Cromertie's ſon; and William Murray of Taymont, brother to the Earl of Dunmore. But the two laſt were not brought to the bar.

September 2. Eighteen of the twenty brought to the bar, were arraigned, and pleaded Not guilty. Sir James Kinloch and Roderick Macculloch, the other two were ſick.

October 13. Sir *James Kinloch* and *Roderick Macculloch* were arraigned, and pleaded Guilty.——Bills were found againſt Captains Andrew Spruel, of Pitſligo's regiment, and Alexander Buchanan, of Perth's.

——22 Governor *John Hamilton* retracted his former plea, and pleaded Guilty——*George Abernethy*, an officer in Glenbucket's regiment, was found Guilty, but recommended to mercy. One of the evidences for the King ſwore, That the priſoner was Preſident of a court martial in Carliſle, at which two officers were broke; another that he ſaw the priſoner ſet fire to a cannon planted on the walls of Carliſle, and pointed at the Duke's army: and others, That the priſoner acted as Commiſſary of ſtores at Carliſle, and bills and receipts ſigned by him as ſuch, were produced. On the other hand, the priſoner pleaded, That he had been of ſingular ſervice to his Majeſty on the preſent occaſion. The firſt witneſs called for him was General Cope; who being aſked if he knew the priſoner; anſwered, No: but deſired that this might not prejudge him, becauſe the march having been quick, and his Excellency having

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seen a great many people, he could not possibly remember every face. The General was then asked, if he was at Banff, and what assistance he got there? and answered, That he was there; that he was furnished with a number of carraiges and horses by the magistrate, and that possibly the prisoner might be the man that was active in that service. Witnesses were then brought to prove the prisoner to have been the only acting magistrate at that time, the Provost and the other two Bailies having been sick or absent. Further, another witness swore, That one Captain Rogers, who was at Banff upon extraordinary business some days before the General, and wanted horses, was furnished by the prisoner; who likewise directed him to go a road different from that he was ordered, to prevent his falling into the rebels hands. Two or three witnesses swore, That upon the rebels coming into Banff, and receiving intelligence how active the prisoner had been in his Majesty's service, they plundered his house, took him prisoner, kept him so while they staid in town, and then carried him off as a prisoner upon a horse without a saddle. A shopkeeper of Carlisle swore, That some of the rebel army having done him considerable damage, he applied to the prisoner and got a guard from him, which prevented any further mischief. A Captain of foot, who was prisoner with the rebels at Carlisle, swore, That, the prisoner conversed frequently with him alone, always acquainted him with the result of the councils of war, and often said, that he wished the town was delivered up to the Duke, for most of the Scots were for it, but that the English opposed it; that on this the witness advised him to get as many names as he could to an instrument for delivering up the town, and to send it to the Duke; and that the prisoner was one of the persons who went to the Duke about surrendering the place.——Bills were found against Mr. George Law, a non-jurant clergyman, and Adam Hay, of Aberdeenshire, Writer in Edinburgh.

——23 *John Burnet*, a captain of the rebel artillery, was found guilty.——Lieutenant *Charles Gordon*, of

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of Ogilvy's regiment, (whose father is a Bailie of regality under the Duke of Gordon, and well affected), was found Guilty, but recommended to mercy on account of his youth.

——24. Captain *Robert Forbes*, of Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment, (a tenant of the Duke of Gordon's), was acquitted; it appeared that he was forced from his family, and frequently, while at Carlisle, attempted to escape over the walls in women's cloaths, but was prevented by the guard.——Lieutenant *James Gordon*, of the artillery, (son of Charles Gordon, tenant to the Duke of Gordon,) aged about sixteen years was found Guilty.

——25. Captain *Alexander Leith*, of Glenbucket's regiment, and Ensigns *Walter Mitchell*, of Perth's, and *George Ramsay*, of Glenbucket's, (or Perth's), were found Guilty.——Colonel *Francis Farquharson* and Major *James Stewart* retracted, and pleaded Guilty.

——27. *James Bradshaw* was found Guilty. He was apprentice at a Manchester warehouse in London six years, and then settled at Manchester in the check trade. He was a Captain in the Manchester regiment, and marched with the rebels from Manchester to Derby, and back to Carlisle. Not chusing to stay there with the regiment, because of a difference between him and Colonel Townly he went with the rebel-army into Scotland, entered into the lifeguards under Lord Elcho, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Culloden. It was proved in his defence, That during the greatest part of his apprenticeship, and since he was settled at Manchester, which was about six years ago, he did several things like acts of lunacy; such as, getting out of bed in the night, doing himself damage, and abusing his comrade; upon which he was fastened down in his bed with straps. But the witnesses being asked, Whether they did not believe this was done on account of his being subject to walking in his sleep? they answered in the affirmative.

——28. Ensign *James Lindsay*, of Strathallan's horse, shoemaker in Perth, was found Guilty.——Captains *Alexander* and *Charles Kinlochs* were next brought to

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the bar; and a point of law having been ſtarted for them, *viz.* Whether natives of Scotland, reſident in Scotland, and taken in Scotland, could, without a breach of the union, be tried in England for acts of treaſon committed in Scotland? the court adjourned.

——29. The above queſtion having been argued by Mr. Attorney General for the crown, and by Mr. Gordon and Mr Joddrell for the priſoners, it was over-ruled, on the late act, and the priſoners were both found Guilty. Captain *Andrew Wood* was found Guilty.

——31. Major *James Rattray* of Ruynaguillan, brother-in-law to Sir James Kinloch was acquitted.

November 1. Captain *Allan Cameron* was found Guilty. It was depoſed in his defence, That he was forced from his family, a wife and ten children, by Lochiel, to whom he was a tennant. But it was proved by the evidences for the crown, That he marched as a Captain in Lochiel's regiment from Scotland to Carliſle and Derby, and back again to Scotland, without any conſtraint; and that he was at the battle of Culloden, and wounded in it. It appeared by the evidence for the crown, that he behaved with great humanity and candour, and that at Edinburgh he prevented one of the King's officers from being murdered by the rebels.——Sir *John Wedderburn* was brought to the bar. The pannel of the jury were called over, and ten were ſworn. But there being a great many abſent, and the priſoner having challenged thirty, there was not a ſufficient number to make a jury. Thereupon the court fined ſeveral of the abſents in 10l. each, and three of the Sheriff's officers in 5l. each for none-attendance.

——3. Sir John Wedderburn was found Guilty. He brought witneſſes to prove, That the rebels, during the time he was proven to have been among them, had taken him four times from his own houſe by force, and that the greateſt part of that time he was at his own houſe. But twelve receipts, ſigned JOHN WEDDERBURN, for exciſe collected at Perth, Dundee, *&c.* were produced, and proved to be his hand writing; and ſome witneſſes ſwore to their having paid him exciſe themſelves.

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selves. It was also proved, that he owned himself a voluntier in Ogilvy's second battalion.

——6. Colonel *Henry Ker* was found Guilty. His council alledged, that he was an officer in the Spanish service; but soon gave up that point. It appeared that he was very active in the rebellion; that it was he that took Captain Vere, (taken December 2. within three miles of the Duke's army, then at Newcastle-underline; called their principal spy, in the rebel-journal published at Glasgow; and harshly treated); and that he endeavoured to rally the rebels at Culloden after they were broke—Major *Alexander Maclauchlan* was found Guilty, but recommended to mercy.

——7. Lieutenant *Thomas Watson*, of Ogilvy's regiment, tobacconist in Perth, was found Guilty.—Ensign *Hector Mackenzie*, a tenant of Cromertie's, and of his regiment, was found Guilty, tho' his parish minister, Mr. James Robertson at Lochbroom, Rossshire, gave him the character of a Person well affected to the government.

——8. Captain *John Farquarson* retracted and pleaded Guilty.—Captain *Colin Mackenzie* of Ballone, aged about nineteen, and Ensign *Roderick Mackenzie*, were acquitted. Their parish-minister, the above Mr. Roberson, gave them the character of persons well affected to his Majesty.

——10, Major *Nicholas Glascoe* was acquitted. He pleaded the cartel of Francfort; and proved, by four French officers, That he was a Lieutenant in Dillon's regiment, French, and a native of France, born at St. German's-en-ley. Upon the jury's bringing in their verdict Not Guilty, the court ordered him to be detained as a prisoner of war, and his bolts to be struck off.

——15. Capt. *Alexander Buchanan*, aged about nineteen, was acquitted; it appeared that he was forced into the rebellion by the Duke of Perth, to whom his father was a tenant.——Then the Lord Chief Justice Lee, passed sentence on the twenty two persons following, *viz.* Sir *James Kinloch*, *Rory (Roderick) Maculloch*, *John Hamilton*, *George Abernethy*, *John Burnet*, *Charles Gordon*,

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Gordon, James Gordon, Alexander Leith, Walter Mitchell, George Ramsay, Francis Farquarson, James Stewart, James Bradshaw, James Lindsay, Andrew Wood, Allan Cameron, Sir *John Wedderburn, Henry Ker, Alexander Maclauchlan, Thomas Watson, Hector Mackenzie,* and *John Farquarson.*

The council for *Alexander* and *Charles Kinlochs,* made a motion in arrest of judgement; the arguing of which was put off till the 15th of December; to which day the court adjourned. There were seven judges present at passing sentence, *viz.* the Lord Chief Justices Lee and Willes, Mess. Justices Wright, Abney, and Foster, and Mess. Barons Reynolds and Clive.

Pursuant to their adjournment, the court met at St. Margaret's Hill on the 15th of December; present the Lord Chief Justices Lee and Willes, and the Chief Baron Parker; Mess. Justices Wright, Abney, Denison, and Foster; and Mess. Barons Reynolds, Clarke and Clive. *Alexander* and *Charles Kinlochs* were brought to the bar; and the motion made in arrest of judgment by their council having been argued for a considerable time, by Mr. Attorney-General, Sir John Strange, and Mr. Solicitor-General, for the King, and by Mr. Joddrel for the prisoners, the determination of it was put off till the 20th.

On the 16th, present Lord Chief Justice Willes, Mr. Baron Reynolds, and Mr. Justice Abney, *Alexander Grant* was brought to the bar. After his indictment was read, the Attorney-General acquainted the court, that he was informed the prisoner was one of those who laid down their arms upon the Duke's proclamation; and therefore desired he might be acquitted: which was accordingly done.—Mr. *George Law,* Minister of an Episcopal meeting in Aberdeen, and called chaplain to Stonywood's regiment in the rebel-army, was acquitted after a long trial.—Bills were found against Henry Moir, Robert Moir, Alexander Mackenzie, James Stormount and Charles Oliphant.

On the 17th, present Mess. Justices Abney and Foster, and Mr. Baron Clive, *Adam Hay,* a voluntier in Pitsligo's

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go's horſe, and afterwards a private man in Stonywood's regiment, was found Guilty, but recommended to mercy. —*Andrew Spruel* was acquitted by the conſent of the Attorney General, without entering into the evidence for the crown.

On the 20th, the judges the ſame as on the 15th, the affair of Meſſ. Kinlochs was determined.—The caſe was thus. The priſoners pleaded Not guilty upon their arraignment, and a jury was charged with them. But at the requeſt of the priſoners council, (the Attorney-General, *&c.* conſenting), a juror was withdrawn, and the jury diſcharged, before any evidence was given for the crown; and it was agreed, that the priſoners ſhould withdraw their plea of Not guilty, and put in a plea to the juriſdiction of the court. The Attorney-General demurred, and the priſoners council joined in the demurrer. The plea to the juriſdiction having been argued, and overruled, another jury was charged with the priſoners; who brought in their verdict Guilty. But when ſentence would have been paſſed, it was moved in arreſt of judgment, That after a jury is charged with a priſoner; if a juror is withdrawn, and the jury is diſcharged without giving a verdict tho' by conſent of the parties, no jury can be charged with the priſoner again nor can judgment be paſſed upon him, but he muſt be diſcharged. The judges, who were till four o'clock afternoon in giving in their opinions, gave it againſt the priſoners, all except Mr. Juſtice Wright; and accordingly ſentence of death was paſſed upon them, and upon Adam Hay above mentioned.—Lord *Macleod*, the Earl of Cromertie's ſon, and Mr. *William Murray* of Taymont, brother to the Earl of Dunmore, were arraigned and pleaded Guilty and were carried back to the tower. Then the court adjourned to the 18th of January.

In the beginning of Auguſt a great many rebel-priſoners were carried from Scotland, and ſome from Newcaſtle, to Carliſle. On the 12th, Lord Chief Baron Parker, Meſſ. Juſtices Burnet and Deniſon, and Mr. Baron Clarke, opened their commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer there. Sir Thomas Lowther, Sir Philip Muſ-

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grave, John Waugh Chancellor of Carliſle, Richard Gilpin, and othe Juſtices, named in the commiſſion, were preſent.

The Number of rebel-priſoners in Carliſle amounted to 385. The common men were indulged the drawing lots, one in twenty to be tried, and nineteen tranſported. Some of them, however, choſe rather to ſtand a trial. Several ſoldiers of different regiments were evidences; and ſuch rebels as they accuſed of having been remarkably cruel, were not permitted to draw. The proceedings were a little retarded by the Scots evidences, many of whom refuſed to ſwear in the manner practiſed in the Engliſh courts. After long reaſoning among the judges, they were ſworn according to the Scots form. From the 12th till the 16th, the grand jury found bills of indictment againſt 119 rebels; who having been all brought to the bar, the judges deſired them to chuſe what council and ſolicitors they pleaſed, and told them, they had given directions to the clerk to make out ſubpœnas *gratis*, to bring what witneſſes they thought proper for their exculpation. Every priſoner got a copy of his indictment, with notice to prepare for trial againſt the 9th of September. To which day the court adjourned, and the judges ſet out for York; where they opened their commiſſion on the 20th, for the trial of the rebel priſoners there.

Purſuant to their adjournment, the court met on the 9th of September; on which and the two following days, moſt of the 119 rebels were arraigned. On of them, Samuel Clarke, an Engliſhman, was hanged for felony, on a ſeparate indictment, before the court met. On the 12th the grand jury ſat again, and continued till the 26th. The folowing liſt gives an account of the iſſue of them. Thoſe to whoſe names *E* is annexed, are Engliſhmen; *c.* common men; and *ſ* ſurrendered in terms of the Duke's proclamation.

Charles Douglas. He pleaded his peerage as Lord Mordington; which was allowed, tho' at firſt oppoſed by the King's council.

Pled

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Pled Guilty when arraigned 11.
Roger Fulthorp *E*
James Innes, brother to Cookſton
Robert Taylor ſhoemaker in Edinburgh, the Captain made priſoner when the caſtle of Edinburgh was blockaded
Patrick Lindſay late farmer at Weſter Deans houſes Tweedale.
James Harvy inkeeper at Linlithgow bridge.
Robert Randal exciſeman
Henry Clarke of Edinburgh
James Mitchell *c*
Patrick Kier wright, Edin.
William Sharp, ſon of Alexander Sharp merch. St. Andrews.
Alexander Davidſon ſhoemaker, Edin.
Pled Guilty when brought to be tried, 32.
Sir Archibald Primeroſe of Dunipace.
Laurence Mercer of Lethindy
Robert Murray writer in Edinburgh, ſon to Spittlehaugh
Charles Gordon of Dalperſy
David Home, brother to A. Home of Manderſton
Andrew Johnſton, ſon to Knockhill
James Smith writer, ſon of James Smith writer in Edin. deceas'd
Andrew Porteous of Burnfoot, Mid-Lothian
Robert Maxwell writer in Edinburgh
John Wallace of Linlithgowſhire *c*
John Campbell *c*
William Duncan taylor
Robert Forbes printer, ſon to New
Donald Mackenzie *c*
Hugh Roy, a boy
John Davidſon *c*
John Mackenzie *c*
John Pouſtie taylor
Ronald Macdonald of the city guard, Edinburgh
Alexander Anderſon, of Aberdeen
Andrew Swan ſhoemaker in Edinburgh
James Campbell Macgrigor, Glengyle's piper
Alexander Stevenſon, of Edinburgh wright
Thomas Keightly *E*
Samuel Lee *E*
Barnaby Matthews *E*
William Wynſtandly *E*
Thomas Park *E*
John Robottom *E*
John Saundeſon *E*
Philip Hunt *E*
Valentine Holt *E*
Found Guilty 37,
Francis Buchanan of Arnprior
Donald Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart

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lochmoidart
Donald Macdonald of Tyendrish, Major
Mr. Robert Lyon, Episcopal Minister at Perth
James Hay, brother to Hopes, a Captain and Paymaster in Lord John Drummond's regiment
William Home, nephew to Bassinrig
John Henderson of Castlemains, writer in Lochmaban
James Brand watchmaker
Patrick Murray goldsmith in Stirling
James Ancrum salt-overseer at Bonhard pans
Richard Morison wigmaker in Edinburgh, the Pretender's son's valet
Thomas Lawson pedlar
Robert Reid
John Macniel
James Forbes of Edin. a servant
Hugh Cameron of Lochaber
Simon Lugton taylor Edin.
John Macnaughton watchmaker in Edinburgh, who killed Colonel Gardiner
Alexander Hutchison of Edinburgh, one of the Pretender's son's grooms
William Baird, of Angus, gardener
George Hartly *E*
Richard Brown *E*
Mr. Thomas Coppock *E*, said to be made Bishop of Carlisle by the Pretender's son
Stephen Fitzgerald, pretended to be French
William Cook *E*
Molineux Eaton *E*
William Hargrave *E*
Thomas Hays *E*
John Hartely *E*
Edward Roper *E*
Robert Tinsley *E*
Peter Taylor *E*
George Waring *E*
Matthew Waring *E*
James Mollen *E*
James Chaddock *E*
Michael Delard, of Ireland
Found Guilty, but recommended to mercy by the jury, 11.
Robert Wright writer in Edin.
William Gray, of Brechin, surgeon
Patrick Stewart, in Invervaik
William Leckie *c*
John Coppock *E*, the Bishop's brother
Thomas Harvie *E*
Thomas Turner of Walton *E*
Lewis Baron *E*
John Small *E*, a boy
Thomas Turner of Bury *E*
Acquitted, 36.

Charles

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Charles Spalding of Whitefield, Athol
James Fergusson of Dunfallandie, Athol
James Seaton, son to Carrieston
Patrick Buchanan, brother to Arnprior
Thomas Buchanan, brother to Arnprior
James Murray, of Edinburgh, surgeon
Martin Lindsay, of ditto writer
James Thoirs, of ditto, ditto
Archibald Maclauchlan, of Fort William
William Stewart, on force
Alexander Brodie *c*, on force
Alexander Steill c
Neil Maclaren, a boy, on force
Donald Macdonald, of Appin
Donald Maccormig, of ditto
Jame Drummond, of Auchterarder
John Petrie alehouse-keeper in Edinburgh
John alias James Macleran
John Forrest *c*
George Steill, of Aberdeen merchant, *f*
John Martine, at bridge of Don, farmer *f*
Patrick Macgrigor *f*
Duncan Macgrigor *f*
David Laird, Perthshire *f*
Patrick Butter, of Athol, *f*
Robert Gordon of Edin. alehouse keeper *f*
Duncan Neish *f*
Thomas Hatch *E* on lunacy
Robert Rosco *E*
Thomas Williamson *E*
Edmund Bayne *E*
Thomas Warrington *E*, a boy
Thomas Barton *E*
Thomas Collingwood *E*
James Braithwaite *E*
Patrick Mackewar *E*
Not tried, in hopes of being discharged for want of evidence, 5
John Stewart, of Kinross
William Greenhill, of Angus
Robert Macfarlane
Alexander Ritchie
Thomas Blair

About 34, confined in the county goal, on suspicion were set at liberty.

On the 22d, 23d, 24th, and 26th sentence was pronounced against all those who had pled or were found Guilty; and then the sessions ended.

The trials at York began on the second of October, were continued the 3d, 4th, 6th, and ended on the 7th. Lord Chief Baron Parker, Mess. Justices Burnet and Denison,

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Denniſon, and Mr. Baron Clarke, were the judges; and Lord Irvin, John Reed, Eſq; Lord Mayor of York, and others named in the commiſſion, were preſent—— The following liſt ſhews the iſſue of the trials.

Pled Guilty when arraigned, 2.

James Wiſhart
John Bartlet

Pled Guilty when brought to be tried, 52.

David Roe
Benjamin Maſon
James Maclauchlan
John Maclauchlan
John Beaton
James Crichton
John Fint
Alex. Goodbrand
John Porteous
John Macqueen
Sir David Murray
Alexander Steill
John Cruikſhanks
James Thomſon
Archibald Kennedy
Charles Gordon
Alexander Parker
William Smith
David Webſter
William Hunter
John Macgrigor
Peter Campbell
John Geddes
John Walker
Matthew Matthews
John Scott
Robert Stewart
Gilbert Barclay
Archibald Paton
William Grant
John Barnaghy
James Maine
William Dempſy
George Mills
George Boyd
Alexander Maclean
John Maclean
Peter Hay
John Duncan
Peter Macdonald
Alexander Nicholas
John Endſworth
Simon Mackenzie
William Barclay
William Stephens
Edward Clavering
William Hay
William Farrier
Daniel Fraſer
Angus Campbel

Found Guilty 12.

William Conolly
Charles Robertſon
Thomas Macgennis
William Croſby
James Macoiley
George Hamilton of Redhouſe
Duncan Stewart
Alexander Scot
William Scot

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James

James Sparks — John James Jellens, a Frenchman
Michael Brady

Found Guilty, but recommended to mercy by the jury, 4.

David Ogilvy — Daniel Duff
James Reid, a piper — David Wilkie

Acquitted, 5.

John Long — Nicholas Garr
John Ballantine — Louis Soure alias Foure, a Frenchman
Charles Webster

On the 7th sentence was pronounced against all who had pled or were found Guilty; the whole amounting to seventy. Eighty of the common people having drawn lots, seventy six of them were transported.

Before the middle of October, an order was sent to Carlisle for the execution of thirty of the rebels condemned there, ten at Carlisle on the 18th, ten at Brampton on the 21st, and ten at Penrith on the 28th. Accordingly, Mr. Thomas Coppock, the Pretender's Bishop, Edward Roper, Francis Buchanan of Arnprior, Donald, Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, Major Donald Macdonald of Tyendrish, John Henderson. John Macnaughton, James Brand, and Hugh Cameron, were executed at Carlisle, and James Ancrum, the tenth, was reprieved; James Innes, Patrick Lindsay, Ronald Macdonald, Thomas Park, Peter Taylor, and Michael Delard, were executed at Brampton, Stephen Fitzgerald died in prison, and James Forbes, Richard Morison, and Alexander Hutchison, the remaining three, were reprieved; and Mr. Robert Lyon, David Home, Andrew Swan, James Harvie, John Robottom, Philip Hunt, and Valentine Holt, were executed at Penrith, and Alexander Anderson Robert Randal, and James Campbell alias Macgrigor, the other three were reprieved.——Richard Morison was carried off for London on the morning of the 21st by one of the King's messengers.

Mr. Coppock made a long treasonable sermon or speech at the place of execution, prayed for the Pretender, his son Charles, and all the rest of the Stewart family, called King George an usurper, &c. and then

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gave the ſermon to the Sheriff——It was obſerved that he behaved very inſolently on his trial; that when he was going from the bar, after having been found guilty, he ſaid openly to the other rebel priſoners, *Never mind it, my boys; for if our Saviour was here theſe fellows would condemn him;* and that, ſeeing Brand drop tears when they received ſentence, he ſaid, *What the devil are you afraid of? We ſhan't be tried by a Cumberland jury in the other world.*

The clergymen were highly charmed with the behaviour of Francis Buchanan of Arnprior, Eſq; He diſcovered a ſweetneſs of temper, an undiſturbed calmneſs, firmneſs, and preſence of mind, beyond expreſſion; his ſentiments about religion and dying were juſt, and the whole of his carriage from his ſentence to his laſt moment uniformly good; and, after the rope was about his neck, he ſaid. *If I have offended any, I earneſtly beg they'll forgive me; for I am ſure I forgive all the world.* This was related by a Gentleman who was preſent at his execution.

They all died with great reſolution, but perſiſted in juſtifying what they had done.

Twenty-two of the ſeventy rebels ſentenced at York were executed at that city, *viz.*

On the 1ſt of November Captain George Hamilton, Daniel Fraſer, Edward Clavering, Charles Gordon, Benjamin Maſon, James Main, William Collony, William Dempſy, Angus Macdonald, and James Sparks.

On the 8th David Roe, of Fife, once an officer of the cuſtoms, William Hunter of Newcaſtle upon Tyne of Townly's regiment, John Endſworth of Knotsford of Grant's; John maclean of the iſle of Sky, and John Macgrigor both of Perth's; Simon Mackenzie of Inverneſs, and Alexander Parker of Murray both of Roy Stewart's; Thomas Macgennis, of Banffshire, of Glenbucket's; Archibald Kennedy ſervant to Colonel Grant; James Thomſon of Angus, of Ogilvy's; and Mchael Keady, an Iriſhman: and on the 15th James Reid of Angus. They all behaved with great decency but would

not

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not acknowledge the treason they suffered for, to be a crime.

Eleven rebels were executed at Carlisle on the 15th of November, *viz.* Sir Archibald Primerose of Dunipace, Charles Gordon of Dalpersy, Patrick Murray goldsmith in Stirling, Patrick Kier and Alexander Stevenson wrights in Edinburgh, Robert Reid, John Wallace, and James Mitchell, all Scots; Molineux Eaton, and Thomas Hays, English; and Baraby Matthews, Irish. They all died firm in the cause for which they suffered——According to accounts from Carlisle of November 14th, five of the rebels under sentence had died in prison, *viz.* James Ancrum, (after he was reprieved,) Laurence Mercer of Lethindy, James Smith writer, Henry Clerk, and John Ratcliffe. The rest of the rebels were reprieved, all *sine die*, except Captain Hay, whose reprieve was for two months. Mr. Robert Lyon read a treasonable libel at the place of execution, near twenty minutes long, in which he declared that if his life had been prolonged, he would still have continued in the same principles.

Five of the twenty two rebels condemned at St. Margaret's Hill on the 15th, were executed on Kennington common on the 28th, *viz.* Sir John Wedderburn, John Hamilton, a rebel Colonel, and Governor of the castle of Carlisle, Alexander Leith, Alexander Wood, and James Bradshaw. Before coming out of the goal, they took a little refreshment; and Wood called for some white wine, and drank health and prosperity to the Pretender and his sons, giving them the Royal titles. After they were taken out of the sledges, they prayed for some time, No clergyman attended them at the gallows. They all declared they did not fear death, and none of them seemed to be shocked. In their last moments they prayed for the Pretender and his cause. Their heads and bodies were carried back to the new-goal. Colonel Francis Farquharson, of Monaltery, Thomas Watson, and James Lindsay, were to have suffered with them; but reprieves came for the two first, the

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evening before the execution, and for Lindsay, just as he was going into the sledge.

As the following Declarations and Manifestoes contain the pretexts of the enemies of the government, and point out the fallacious arguments they made use of for seducing his Majesty's loyal subjects; we have subjoined them to the history of the rebellion. We are sorry we had not room for several ingenious papers wrote in answer to them, for which we refer our readers to the Scots Magazine for 1745 *and* 1746. *In general it may be observed, that the little regard payed to the promises or threatenings contained in them sufficiently shews their weakness.*

I. *The Pretender's declaration for Scotland.*

JAMES R.

JAMES VIII. by the grace of God, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, greeting.

Having always borne the most constant affection to our antient Kingdom of Scotland, from whence we derive our Royal origin, and where our Progenitors have swayed the sceptre with glory through a longer succession of Kings, than any monarchy upon earth can at this day boast of; we cannot but behold with the deepest concern the miseries they suffer under a foreign usurpation, and the intolerable burdens daily added to their yoke; which become yet more sensible to us, when we consider the constant zeal and affection the generality of our subjects, of that our antient kingdom have expressed for us on all occasions, and particularly when we had the satisfaction of being ourselves amongst them.

We see a nation always famous for valour, and highly esteemed by the greatest of foreign potentates, reduced to the condition of a province, under the specious pretence of an union with a more powerful neighbour. In consequence of this pretended union, grievous and unprecedented taxes have been laid on, and levied with severity

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verity in ſpite of all the repreſentations that could be made to the contrary; and theſe have not failed to produce that poverty, and decay of trade, which were eaſily forſeen to be the neceſſary conſequences of ſuch oppreſſive meaſures.

To prevent the juſt reſentment which could not but ariſe from ſuch uſage, our faithful *highlanders*, a people always trained up and inured to arms, have been deprived of them; forts and citadels have been built and garriſoned, where no foreign invaſion could be apprehended; and a military government has been effectually introduced. as into a conquered country. It is eaſy to forſee, what muſt be the conſequence of ſuch violent and unprecedented proceedings, if a timely remedy be not put to them: neither is it leſs manifeſt, that ſuch a remedy can never be obtained, but by our reſtoration, into whoſe Royal heart ſuch deſtructive maxims could never find admittance.

We think it needleſs to call to mind how ſolicitous we have ever been, and how often we have ventured our Royal perſon, to compaſs this great end; which the divine providence ſeems now to have furniſhed us with the means of doing effectually, by enabling our good ſubjects in England to ſhake off their yoke, under which they have likewiſe felt their ſhare of common calamities. Our former experience leaves us no room to doubt of the chearful and hearty concurrence of our Scots ſubjects on this occaſion, towards the perfecting the great and glorious work: but that none may be deterred by the memory of paſt miſcarriages from returning to their duty, and being reſtored to the happineſs they formerly enjoyed; we in this publick manner, think fit to make known our gracious intentions towards all our people.

We do therefore, by this our Royal declaration, abſolutely and effectually pardon and remit all treaſons and other crimes hitherto committed againſt our Royal father, or ourſelves. From the benefit of which pardon we except none, but ſuch as ſhall after the publication hereof, willingly and maliciouſly oppoſe us, or thoſe who ſhall appear or endeavour to appear in arms for our ſervice.

We

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We further declare, that we will, with all conveniecet ſpeed, call a free parliament; that, by the advice and aſſiſtance of ſuch an aſſembly, we may be enabled to repair the breaches cauſed by ſo long an uſurpation, to redreſs all grievances, and to free our people from that unſupportable burden of the malt-tax, and all other hardſhips and impoſitions, which have been the conſequences of the pretended union; that ſo the nation may be reſtored to that honour and liberty, and independency, which it formerly enjoyed.

We likewiſe promiſe, upon our Royal word, to protect, ſecure and maintain all our Proteſtant ſubjects in the free exerciſe of their religion, and in the full enjoyment of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, and in the ſecure poſſeſſion of all churches, univerſities, colleges and ſchools, conform to the laws of the land.

All this we ſhall be ready to confirm in our firſt parliament; in which we promiſe to paſs any act or acts that ſhall be judged neceſſary to ſecure each private perſon in the full enjoyment of his liberty and property, to advance trade, to relieve the poor, and eſtabliſh the general welfare and tranquility of the nation. In all ſuch matters, we are fully reſolved to act always by the advice of our parliaments, and to value none of our titles ſo much, as that of *common father of our people;* which we ſhall ever ſhow ourſelves to be, by our conſtant endeavours to promote the quiet and happineſs of all our ſubjects. And we ſhall be particularly ſolicitous, to ſettle, encourage and maintain the fiſhery and linen manufacture of the nation, which we are ſenſible may be of ſuch advantage to it, and which, we hope are works reſerved for us to accompliſh.

As for thoſe who ſhall appear more ſignally zealous for the recovery of our juſt rights, and the proſperity of their country, we ſhall take effectual care to reward them according to their reſpective degrees and merits. And we particularly promiſe, as aforeſaid, our full, free and general pardon to all officers, ſoldiers and ſailors, now engaged in the ſervice of the uſurper, whether of the ſea or land, provided that, upon the publication hereof

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hereof, and before they engage in any fight or battle againſt our forces, they quit the ſaid unjuſt and unwarrantable ſervice, and return to their duty: in which caſe, we ſhall pay them all the arrears that ſhall be at that time due to them from the uſurper; we ſhall grant to the officers the ſame commiſſions they ſhall then bear, if not higher; and to all ſoldiers and ſailors a gratification of a whole year's pay, for their forwardneſs in promoting our ſervice.

We further promiſe and declare, that the vaſſals of ſuch as ſhall, without regard to our preſent declaration, obſtinately perſiſt in their rebellion, and thereby forfeit all pretenſions to our Royal clemency, ſhall be delivered from all ſervitude they were formerly bound to, and ſhall have grants and charters of their lands to be held immediately of the crown, provided they, upon the publication of this our declaration, declare openly for us, and join heartily in the cauſe of their country.

And having thus declared our gracious intentions to our loving ſubjects, we do hereby require and command them to be aſſiſting to us in the recovery of our rights, and of their own liberties: and that all our ſubjects, from the age of ſixteen to ſixty, do upon the ſetting up of our Royal ſtandard, immediately repair to it, or join themſelves to ſuch as ſhall firſt appear for us in their reſpective ſhires; and alſo to ſeize the horſes and arms of all ſuſpected perſons, and all ammunition, forage, and whatever elſe may be neceſſary for the uſe of our forces.

We alſo ſtrictly command all receivers, collectors, or other perſons, who may be ſeiſed of any ſum or ſums of money levied in the name or for the uſe of the uſurper, to retain ſuch ſum or ſums of money in their own hands, till they can pay them to ſome perſon of diſtinction appearing publickly for us, and demanding the ſame for our uſe and ſervice; whoſe receipt or receipts ſhall be a ſufficient diſcharge for all ſuch collectors, receivers, or other perſons, their heirs, *&c.*

Laſtly we do hereby require all Sheriffs of Shires, Stewarts of ſtewartries, and their reſpective deputies, magiſtrates of Royal boroughs, and Bailies of regalities,

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and

and all other to whom it may belong, to publish this our declaration, at the market-crosses of their respective towns and boroughs, and there proclaim us, under the penalty of being proceeded against according to law, for their neglect of so necessary and important a duty.

Given at our court at Rome, the 23d day of December 1743, in the forty third year of our reign.

J. R.

II. *The Pretender's declaration for England.*

JAMES R.

JAMES VIII. by the grace of God, King of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, greeting.

The love and affection we bear to our native country, are so natural and inherent to us, that they could never be altered or diminished by a long and remote exile, nor the many hardships we have undergone during the whole course of our life; and we almost forget our own misfortunes, when we consider the oppression and tyranny under which our country has laboured so long. We have seen our people, for many years, groaning under the weight of most heavy taxes, and bearing many of the calamities of war, while the rest of Europe enjoyed all the blessings of peace. We have seen the treasures of the nation applied to satiate private avarice, and lavished for the support of German dominions, or for carrying on ambitious views, always foreign, and often contrary to the true interest of the nation. We have since seen the nation involved in wars, which have been, and are carried on without any advantage to Britain, and even to the manifest detriment and discouragement of its trade, and a great body of Hanoverians taken into the English pay and service, in a most extraordinary manner, and at a most expensive rate; nor could we behold without indignation, the preference and partiality shewn on all occasions to these foreigners, and the notorious affronts put on the British troops. We have beheld, with astonishment, an universal corruption and dissolution of

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manners

manners, encouraged and countenanced by those whose example and authority should have been employed to repress it, and a more than tacit connivance given to all irreligion and immorality. Bribery and corruption have been openly and universally practised, and no means neglected to seduce the great council of the nation, that it might be the more effectually enslaved by those who ought to be the guardians of its liberty. The manufactures of England are visibly going to decay, trade has been neglected and even discouraged, and the very honour of the nation made a sacrifice to the passions of those who govern it.

The unhappy state to which our subjects have been reduced by these and many other unjust and violent proceedings, has constantly filled our Royal heart with grief and concern, while our whole thoughts and study have been employed towards procuring the most speedy and effectual remedy to them, which we were always sensible could only be compassed by our restoration. This has ever been the principal view of the several attempts we have made for the recovery of our just rights without being discouraged by the disappointments with which we have hitherto met. But tho' providence has permitted that iniquity and injustice should long prevail, we have all reason to hope, that the time is at last come in which the divine mercy will put a period to these misfortunes. We see, with a sensible satisfaction. the eyes of the greatest part of our people opened, with regard to their present deplorable situation; and that they are convinced they can find no relief but by restoring their natural-born prince, whose undoubted title will of course put an end to the many calamities they have suffered during the usurpation. And our satisfaction would be compleat, could we owe our natural happiness to our ourselves and subjects alone, without the assistance of any foreign power: but should we find it necessary to employ any such, let our good subjects be assured, it is only to protect ourselves and them against those shoals of foreign mercenaries, with which the Elector fills the kingdom whenever he thinks himself in danger; and

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therefore,

therefore, to diſperſe, all fears and jealouſies from the hearts and minds of our ſubjects, and to convince them, as much as in us lies, of the happineſs they may enjoy under our government, we have thought fit to unfold to them, in this ſolemn and publick manner, the ſincere ſentiments of our Royal and truly Engliſh heart.

We hereby grant a free, full and general pardon, for all offences whatſoever, hitherto committed, againſt our Royal father, or ourſelves; to the benefit of which we ſhall deem juſtly intitled, all ſuch of our ſubjects as ſhall, after our appearing in arms by ourſelves, our deareſt ſon the Prince of Wales, our deputies, or the commanders of our auxiliary forces, teſtify their willingneſs to accept of it, either by joining our troops with all convenient diligence, by ſetting up our ſtandard in other places, by repairing to any place where it ſhall be put up, or at leaſt by openly renouncing all pretended allegiance to the uſurper, and all obedience to his orders, or thoſe of any perſon or perſons commiſſioned or employed by him.

As ſoon as the publick tranquility ſhall permit, we ſolemnly promiſe to call and aſſemble a free parliament, wherein no corruption, nor undue influence of any kind whatſoever, ſhall be uſed to biaſs the votes of the electors or the elected; and, with the ſincere and impartial advice and concurrence of the ſaid parliament, we ſhall be ready to ſettle all that may relate to the welfare of the kingdom, both in civil and eccleſiaſtical matters.

We ſolemnly promiſe to protect, ſupport and maintain the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed, in all her rights, privileges, poſſeſſions and immunities whatſoever; and we ſhall, on all occaſions, beſtow marks of our Royal favour on the whole body of the clergy, but more particularly on thoſe whoſe principles and practices ſhall beſt correſpond with the dignity of their profeſſion. We alſo ſolemnly promiſe to grant and allow the benefit of a toleration to all Proteſtant diſſenters, being utterly averſe to all perſecution and animoſity on account of religion and conſcience.

And as we are deſirous to reign chiefly over the affections of our people, we ſhall be utterly averſe to the

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ſuſpending

ſuſpending the *Habeas corpus* act, as well as to the loading our ſubjects with unneceſſary taxes, or raiſing any in a manner burdenſome to them, eſpecially to the introducing of foreign exciſes, and to all ſuch methods as may have been hitherto deviſed and purſued to acquire arbitrary power, at the expence of the liberty and property of the ſubject.

It is our fixed reſolution and intention, to diſtinguiſh, recompenſe and employ men of merit and probity, who are true lovers of their country, and of the church of England as by law eſtabliſhed. By ſuch a conduct, we hope the native genius and honour of the nation may be ſoon retrieved; and that thoſe party-prejudices, diviſions and diſtinctions, which have ſo long prevailed, and have been ſo pernicious to the nation, may be buried in perpetual oblivion.

As for the foreign troops employed in the preſent expedition, effectual care ſhall be taken to make them obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline while they ſtay, without offering the leaſt injury to peaceable people; and we ſolemnly engage to ſend them home as ſoon as the publick tranquility ſhall be judged by parliament to allow of it, and even before a parliament is aſſembled, if the poſture of affairs ſhall permit it.

In the mean time we ſtrictly charge and require all perſons, who, at the firſt news of our troops entering the kingdom, ſhall be ſeiſed of any ſum or ſums of money, for the uſe of the uſurper, to keep the ſame in their hands, to be accounted for to us, or to pay it, when required, into the hands of any perſon of diſtinction, publickly appearing and acting for our ſervice; whoſe receipt ſhall be a ſufficient diſcharge for the ſaid perſon or perſons, their heirs, *&c.* But if they ſhall refuſe or neglect to comply with theſe our orders, we hereby authoriſe and require all our Generals, Lieutenant Generals, and other officers, and all our faithful adherents, to ſeize, for our uſe, ſuch ſum or ſums of money, as well as horſes, arms artillery, accoutrements and ammunition, forage and proviſions, as ſhall be found

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in the hands of those who shall not be willing to employ them in our service.

We also command and require all those who bear any military commission or arms, whether in the fleet, army, or militia, to use and employ them for our service; since they cannot but be sensible, that no engagements entered into with a foreign usurper, can dispense with the allegiance they owe to us their natural sovereign. And as a farther encouragement to them to comply with their duty and our commands, we promise to every such officer, the same or a higher post, in our service, than that which they at present enjoy, with full payment of whatever arrears may be due to them at the time of their declaring for us; and to every soldier, trooper and dragoon, who shall join us, as well as to every seamen and mariner of the fleet, who shall declare for and serve us, all their arrears, and a whole year's pay to be given each of them as a gratuity, as soon as ever the kingdom shall be in a state of tranquillity.

And lastly, that this undertaking may be accompanied with as little present inconveniency as possible to our subjects, we hereby authorise and require all civil officers and magistrates, now in place and office, to continue, till farther order, to execute their respective employments in our name, and by our authority, and to give strict obedience to such orders and directions as may be issued out by those who will be vested with our authority and power.

It is a subject of unspeakable concern to us, to find ourselves, by a complication of different circumstances, under an absolute impossibility of heading, ourselves, this just and glorious undertaking, for the relief and happiness of our country. But we are in hopes, that the youth and vigour of our dearest son, the Prince of Wales, may abundantly enable him to supply our place. And therefore we have invested him with the title and power of Regent of all our dominions, until such time as we can ourselves arrive in them, which we shall do with all possible speed.

Having

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Having thus ſincerely, and in the preſence of Almighty God, declared our true ſentiments and intentions in this expedition, we once more charge and require all our loving ſubjects, to concur with us, to the utmoſt of their power, towards obtaining ſuch deſirable ends: for thoſe who ſhall wilfully perſiſt in their unnatural attachmant to the uſurper, and continue to act in conſequence of it, they cannot but be ſenſible, that they are to expect no benefit from a pardon ſo graciouſly offered to them. But we heartily wiſh none ſuch may be found, but that all may be as ready to accept of an act of grace and oblivion as we are to grant it; and it being our earneſt deſire, that the very memory of paſt misfortunes and errors may be effaced, and that no obſtacle may remain to perfect union betwixt King and people; which will be the more eaſily compaſſed, when they compare what they have ſuffered under the dominion of foreigners, with what we here offer to them, and are firmly reſolved to perform. Let therefore all true Engliſhmen join with us on this occaſion in their country's cauſe, and be fully convinced, that we neither do nor ſhall propoſe to ourſelves any other happineſs or glory, but what ſhall ariſe from our effectually providing for the honour and welfare of the nation, and maintaining every part of its happy conſtitution both in church and ſtate.

Given under our ſign-manual and privy ſignet, the 23d day of December 1743.

J. R.

III. *The Pretender's ſon's firſt manifeſto.*

CHARLES P. R.

BY virtue and authority of the above commiſſion of Regency, granted unto us by the King our Royal father, we are now come to execute his Majeſty's will and pleaſure, by ſetting up his Royal ſtandard, and aſſerting his undoubted right to the throne of his anceſtors.

We do therefore, in his Majeſty's name, and purſuant to the tenor of his ſeveral declarations, hereby grant a full and general pardon, for all treaſons, rebelli-

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ons, and offences whatsoever, committed at any time before the publication hereof, against our Royal grandfather, his present Majesty, and ourselves To the benefit of this pardon we shall deem justly intitled all such of his Majesty's subjects as shall testify their willingness to accept of it, either by joining our forces with all convenient diligence, by setting up his Royal standard in other places, by repairing for our service to any place where it shall be set up; or, at least, by openly renouncing all pretended allegiance to the usurper, and all obedience to his orders; or to those of any person or persons employed by him, or acting avowedly for him.

As for those who shall appear more signally zealous for the recovery of his Majesty's just rights, and the prosperity of of their country, we shall take effectuall care to have them rewarded according to their respective degrees and merits. And we particularly promise, as aforesaid, a full, free and general pardon, to all officers, soldiers, and sailors, now engaged in the service of the usurper; provided, that, upon the publication hereof, and before they engage in any fight or battle against his Majesty's forces, they quit the said unjust and unwarrantable service, and return to their duty; since they cannot but be sensible, that no engagements entered into with a foregin usurper, can dispense with the allegiance they owe to their native sovereign. And as a further encouragement to them to comply with their duty, and and our commands, we promise to every such officer the same or a higher post, in our service, than that which at present he enjoys, with full payment of whatever arrears may be due to him at the time of his declaring for us; and to every soldier, trooper, and dragoon, who shall join us, as well as to every seaman and mariner of the fleet, who shall declare for, and serve us, all their arrears, and a whole year's pay to be given to each of them as a gratuity, as soon as ever the kingdoms shall be in a state of tranquillity.

We hereby further promise and declare, in his Majesty's name, and by virtue of the above said commission, that as soon as ever that happy state is obtained, he will,

by

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by and with the advice of a free parliament, wherein no corruption nor undue influence whatsoever shall be used to bias the votes of the electors or the elected, settle, confirm and secure all the rights, ecclesiastical and civil, of each of his respective kingdoms; his Majesty being fully resolved to maintain the church of England, as by law established, and likewise the Protestant churches of Scotland and Ireland, conformable to the laws of each respective kingdom; together with a toleration to all Protestant dissenters; being utterly averse to all persecution and oppression whatsoever, particularly on account of conscience and religion. And we ourselves being perfectly convinced of the reasonableness and equity of the same principles, do, in consequence hereof, further promise and declare, that all his Majesty's subjects shall be by him and us maintained in the full enjoyment and possession of all their rights, privileges and immunities, and especially of all churches, universities, colleges and schools, conformable to the laws of the land; which shall ever be the unalterable rule of his Majesty's government, and our own actions.

And that this our undertaking may be accompanied with as little present inconvenience as possible to the King's subjects, we do hereby authorise and require all civil officers and magistrates now in place and office, to continue, till further orders, to execute their respective employments, in our name, and by our authority, as far as may be requisite for the maintenance of common justice, order and quiet: willing and requiring them, at the same time, to give strict obedience to such orders and directions as may from time to time be issued out by us, or those who shall be vested with any share of our authority and power.

We also command and require all officers of the revenue, and excise, all tax gatherers, of what denomination soever, and all others who may have any part of the publick money in their hands, to deliver it immediately to some principal commander authorised by us, and take his receipt for the same, which shall be to them a sufficient discharge; and in case of refusal, we authorise and

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charge all such our commanders, to exact the same for our use, and to be accountable for it to us, or our officers for that purpose appointed.

And having thus sincerely in the presence of Almighty God, declared the true sentiments and intentions of the King our Royal father, as well as our own, in this expedition, we do hereby require and command all his subjects, to be assisting to us in recovery of his just rights, and of their own liberties; and that all such, from the age of sixteen to sixty, do forthwith repair to his Majesty's Royal standard, or join themselves to such as shall first appear in their respective shires for his service; and also to seize the horses and arms of all suspected persons, and all ammunition, forage, and whatever else may be necessary for our use or the use of our forces.

Lastly, we do hereby require all Mayors, Sheriffs, and other magistrates, of what denomination soever, their respective deputies, and all others to whom it may belong, to publish this our declaration at the market-crosses of their respective cities, towns and boroughs, and there to proclaim his Majesty, under the penalty of being proceeded against according to law, for the neglect of so necessary and important a duty. For as we have hereby graciously and sincerely offered a free and general pardon for all that is past; so we, at the same time, seriously warn all his Majesty's subjects, that we shall leave to the rigour of the law all those who shall from henceforth oppose us, or wilfully and deliberately do or concur in any act or acts, civil or military, to the let or detriment of us, our cause or title, or to the destruction, prejudice or annoyance of those who shall, according to their duty, and our intentions thus publickly signified, declare and act for us.

Given at Paris, the 16th May 1745.

C. P. R.

IV. *The*

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IV. *The Pretender's son's second manifesto,*

CHARLES P. R.

CHARLES Prince of Wales, *&c.* Regent of the Kingdoms of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging: Unto all his Majesty's subjects, of what degree soever greeting.

As soon as we, conducted by the providence of God arrived in Scotland, and were joined by a handful of our Royal father's faithful subjects, our first care was, to make publick his most gracious declaration; and, in consequence of the large powers by him vested in us, in quality of Regent, we also emitted our own manifesto, explaining and enlarging the promises formerly made, according as we came to be better acquainted with the inclinations of the People of Scotland. Now that it has pleased God so far to smile on our undertaking as to make us master of the antient kingdom of Scotland, we judged it proper, in this publick manner, to make manifest what ought to fill the hearts of all his Majesty's subjects, of what nation or province soever, with comfort and satisfaction.

We therefore hereby, in his Majesty's name, declare, that his sole intention is, to reinstate all his subjects in the full enjoyment of their religion, laws, and liberties; and that our present attempt is not undertaken in order to inslave a free people, but to redress and remove the incroachments made upon them; not to impose upon any a religion which they dislike, but to secure them all in the enjoyment of those which are respectively at present established among them, either in Scotland, England or Ireland: and if it shall be deemed proper that any further security be given to the established church or clergy, we hereby promise, in his name, that he shall pass any law that his Parliament shall judge necessary for that purpose.

In consequence of the rectitude of our Royal father's intentions, we must farther declare his sentiments with regard to the national debt. That it has been contracted under an unlawful government, no body can disown, no

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no more than that it is now a moſt heavy load upon the nation; yet in regard that it is for the greateſt part due to thoſe very ſubjects whom he promiſes to protect, cheriſh and defend, he is reſolved to take the advice of his parliament concerning it; in which he thinks he acts the part of a juſt Prince, who makes the good of his people the ſole rule of his actions.

Furthermore, we here in his name declare, that the ſame rule laid down for the funds, ſhall be followed with reſpect to every law or act of parliament ſince the revolution, and in ſo far as, in a free and legal parliament, they ſhall be approved, he will confirm them. With reſpect to the pretended union of the two nations, the King cannot poſſibly ratify it; ſince he has had repeated remonſtrances againſt it from each kingdom; and ſince it is inconteſtable, that the principal point then in view, was the excluſion of the Royal family from their undoubted right to the crown, for which purpoſe the groſſeſt corruptions were openly uſed to bring it about But whatever may be hereafter deviſed for the joint benefit of both nations, the King will moſt readily comply with the requeſt of his parliaments to eſtabliſh.

And now that we have in his Majeſty's name given you the moſt ample ſecurity for your religion, properties, and laws, that the power of a Britiſh ſovereign can grant; we hereby for ourſelves, as heir apparent to the crown, ratify and confirm the ſame in our own name, before Almighty God, upon the faith of a Chriſtian, and the honour of a Prince.

Let me now expoſtulate this weighty matter with you, my father's ſubjects; and let me not omit this firſt publick opportunity of awakening your underſtandings, and of diſpelling that cloud, which the aſſiduous pens of ill-deſigning men have all along, but chiefly now, been endeavouring to caſt on the truth. Do not the pulpits and congregations of the clergy, as well as your weekly papers, ring with the dreadful threats of Popery, ſlavery, tyranny, and arbitrary power, which are now ready to be impoſed upon you by the formidable powers of France and Spain? Is not my Royal father repreſented as a blood-

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blood-thirsty tyrant, breathing out nothing but destruction to all those who will not immediately embrace an odious religion? Or have I myself been better used? But listen only to the naked truth.

I, with my own money, hire a small vessel, ill provided with money, arms, or friends; I arrive in Scotland, attended by seven persons; I publish the King my father's declaration, and proclaim his title, with pardon in one hand, and in the other liberty of conscience, and the most solemn promises to grant whatever a free parliament shall propose for the happiness of a people. I have, I confess, the greatest reason to adore the goodness of Almighty God, who has in so remarkable a manner protected me and my small army through the many dangers to which we were at first exposed, and who has led me in the way to victory, and to the capital of this ancient kingdom, amidst the acclamations of the King my father's subjects. Why then is so much pains taken to spirit up the minds of the people against this my undertaking.

The reason is obvious: It is, lest the real sense of the nation's present sufferings should blot out the remembrance of past misfortunes, and of the outcries formerly raised against the Royal family. Whatever miscarraiges might have given occasion to them, they have been more than attoned for since; and the nation has now an opportunity of being secured against the like for the future.

That our family has suffered exile during these fifty-seven years, every body knows. Has the nation during that period of time been the more happy and flourishing for it? Have you found reason to love and cherish your governors, as the fathers of the people of Great Britain and Ireland? Has a family upon whom a faction unlawfully bestowed the diadem of a rightful Prince, retained a due sense of so great a trust and favour? Have you found more humanity and condescension in those who were not born to a crown, than in my Royal forefathers? Have their ears been open to the cries of the people? Have they, or do they consider only the interest of these nations? Have you reaped any other

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other benefit from them, than an immenſe load of debts? If I am anſwered in the affirmative, Why has their government been ſo often railed at in their publick aſſemblies? Why has the nation been ſo long crying out in vain for redreſs againſt the abuſe of parliaments, upon account of their long duration, the multitude of placemen which occaſions their venality, the introduction of penal laws, and, in general, againſt the miſerable ſituation of the kingdom at home and abroad? All theſe, and many other inconveniencies muſt now be removed, unleſs the people of Great Britain be already ſo far corrupted, that they will not accept of freedom when offered to them; ſeeing the King, on his reſtoration, will refuſe nothing that a free parliament can aſk, for the ſecurity of the religion, laws and liberty of his people.

The fears of the nation from the powers of France and Spain, appear ſtill more vain and groundleſs. My expedition was undertaken unſupported by either: but indeed when I ſee a foreign force brought by my enemies againſt me; and when I hear of Dutch, Danes, Heſſians, and Swiſs, the Elector of Hanover's allies, being called over to protect his government againſt the King's ſubjects; is it not high time for the King my father, to accept alſo of the aſſiſtance of thoſe who are able, and who have engaged to ſupport him? But will the world, or any one man of ſenſe in it, infer from thence, that he inclines to be a tributary prince, rather than an independant monarch? Who has the better chance to be independent on foreign powers? He who with the aid of his own ſubjects can wreſt the government out of the hands of an intruder? or he who cannot without aſſiſtance from abroad, ſupport his government, tho' eſtabliſhed by all the civil power, and ſecured by a ſtrong military force, againſt the undiſciplined part of thoſe he has ruled over ſo many years? Let him if he pleaſes, try the experiment; let him ſend off his foreign hirelings, and put the whole upon the iſſue of a battle: I will truſt to the King my father's ſubjects, who are or ſhall be engaged in mine and their country's cauſe. But, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition he can make,

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make, I ſtill truſt in the juſtice of my cauſe, the valour of my troops, and the aſſiſtance of the Almighty, to bring my enterprize to a glorious iſſue.

It is now time to conclude; and I ſhall do it with this reflexion. Civil wars are ever attended with rancour and ill-will, which party-rage never fails to produce in the minds of thoſe, whom different intereſts, principles, or views, ſet in oppoſition to one another. I therefore earneſtly require it of my friends, to give as little looſe as poſſible to ſuch paſſions. This will prove the moſt effectual means to prevent the ſame in the enemies of our Royal cauſe. And this my declaration will vindicate to all poſterity the nobleneſs of my undertaking, and the generoſity of my intentions.

Given at our palace of Holyroodhouſe, the 10th day of October 1745.

C. P. R.

By his Highneſs's command,

JO. MURRAY.

V. *The commiſſion of Regency by the Pretender to his eldeſt ſon:*

JAMES R.

WHEREAS we have a near proſpect of being reſtored to the throne of our anceſtors, by the good inclinations of our ſubjects towards us; and whereas, on account of the preſent ſituation of this country, it will be abſolutely impoſſible for us to be in perſon at the firſt ſetting up of our Royal ſtandard, and even ſome time after: we therefore eſteem it for our ſervice, and the good of our kingdoms and dominions, to nominate and appoint, as we hereby nominate, conſtitute, and appoint, our deareſt ſon, Charles Prince of Wales, to be ſole Regent of our kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, and of all other our dominions, during our abſence. It is our will and intention, that our ſaid deareſt ſon ſhould enjoy and exerciſe all that power and authority, which, according to the antient conſtitution of our kingdoms, has been enjoyed and exerciſed by former Regents. Requiring all our faithful ſubjects to give all

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due

due submission and obedience to our Regent aforesaid, as immediately representing our Royal person, and acting by our authority. And we hereby revoke all commissions of regency granted to any person or persons whatsoever. And lastly, we hereby dispense with all formalities, and other omissions, that my be herein contained; declaring this our commission to be as firm and valid, to all intents and purposes, as if it had passed our great seals, and as if it were acccording to the usual style and forms. Given under our sign-manual and privy signet, at our court at Rome, the 23d day of December 1743, in the 43d year of our reign.

J. R.

END of the VOLUME.

ERRATA.

PAGE 2d line 14. for *retun r. return*, *p.* 5. last paragraph, 4. *l.* after the full point, add *That they*. *p.* 49. *bbing r. being*. *p.* 55. penult *l.* for *aganist, r. against*. *p.* 63. 3. *l.* from the foot dele *and*. *p.* 67. *l.* 10. for *aad r. and*. *p.* 74. *l.* 6, from the foot, dele *of*. *p.* 76. *l.* 12. for *conlainned r. contained*. *p.* 83. last *l.* for *anding r. landing*. *p.* 114. 4th *l.* from the foot, for *had r. have*. *p.* 120. *l.* 12. from the foot, for *interpersed r. interspersed*. *p.* 145. *l.* 1. for *ed r. spiked ib. l.* 15. from the foot, for *retern r. return*. *p.* 157. *l.* 3. for *rhe r. the*. *ib. l.* 12. for *annd r. and*. *ib. l.* 22. for *severa r. several*. *p.* 172. 5. *l.* from the foot, for *our r. four*. *p.* 150. *l.* 5. from the foot, for *March r. February*. *p.* 213. *l.* 11. for *Nnefs r. nefs*. *ib.* 2. *l.* from the foot, for *litter r. little*. *p.* 218 *l.* 20 for *nex r. next*. *p.* 222. *l.* 15. *r. shewn by*. *p.* 234. *l.* 11. from the foot, for *beloninging r. belonging*. *p.* 252. *l.* 4. dele *the*.

*** *The Reader's excuse is desired for these, or any other mistakes that may be omitted.*

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to an engagement with, and defeats him on the 21ſt. 19. returns to Edinburgh 22d. 28. Demands the publick money 30. makes a large demand on Glaſgow, and receives 5500l. *ib.* Stops the communication betwixt the city and caſtle *ib.* Is waited upon by deputies from the city 31. Refuſes to open the communication *ib.* Prohibits reſort to or from the caſtle under pain of death 32. Takes the blockade off the caſtle 34. Marches the laſt of his troops out of Edinburgh, 29th Oct. 40. Comes in ſight of Carliſle on the 9th Nov. ſends a meſſage to the Mayor 49. Prepares for attacking the town; which ſurrenders on the 15th 50. Puts a garriſon in Carliſle; proceeds on his march 18th is at Mancheſter 29th 58. Liſt of his troops 60. Is at Derby 4th of Dec. 64. Number of his troops, there 66. Retreats from Derby, on the approach of the King's troops *ib.* Has a bruſh with them at Clifton 72. Is at Carliſle 19th Dec. 73. Leaves it next day *ib.* Order of his march North 78. Impoſes a contribution on Dumfries 79. Arrives at Glaſgow 26th Dec. *ib.* His dreſs deſcribed; cauſes a black-ſmith put an iron plate on his ſhoe 92. Makes another demand on Glaſgow 104. Leaves that place 3d of Jan. 1746; marches for Stirling 108. arrives there on the 8th *ib.* Lays ſiege to the caſtle on the 12th Jan. 111. Has an action with the King's troops at Falkirk on the 17th 113. Returns to Stirling 18th 128. Summons the caſtle to ſurrender *ib.* Leaves Stirling on the Duke's approach (1ſt Feb.) 137. Divides his army into three bodies; marches on the head of the clans 140. His reaſons for retreating from Stirling 159. Takes fort George and fort Auguſtus about the 25th of Feb. 166. Engages with and is totally defeated by the King's troops at Culloden 16th April 1746 182. Arrives

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*** *After the battle of Culloden, nothing can be said with certainty of his motions, and therefore we shall not take up the Index with reports that may be either true or false.*

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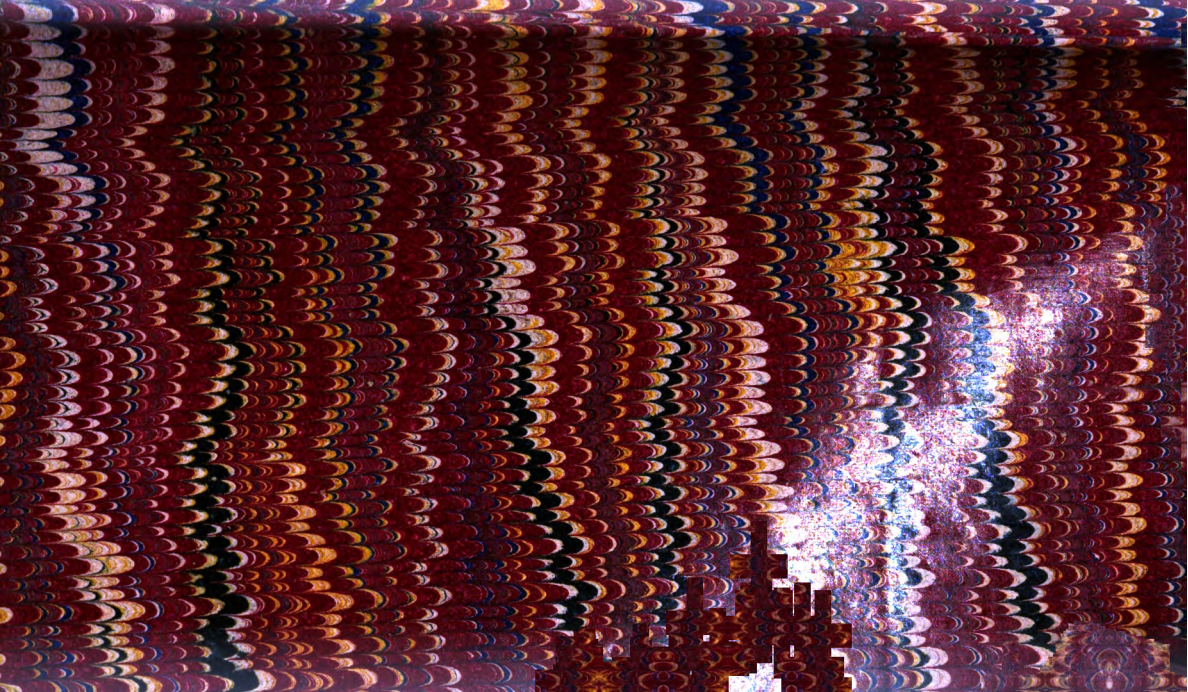

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